101/13 physical environment. To follow the story of village life in Greece as portrayed in this book, one must be able to go imaginatively from one part of Greece to another, since every experience described will be related to the place where it occurred.

[631] *Macedonia*, linked historically with Alexander the Great and the missionary activities of St. Paul, is a part of the administrative division of Northern Greece. Its northern mountain barrier separates it from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, each of which has adjoining territory which it too calls Macedonia. The Greeks believe that no area has been more bled over than Macedonia, where Greek and Slav meet.

[563] [249] *Thrace*, to the east, is also in Northern Greece and is the one area where the Turkish minority still live. Like Macedonia, it is famous for the Oriental kind of tobacco grown there.

Epirus, the northwestern province, is a mountainous land of great beauty

[433] and stormy traditions. It borders Albania.

[243] *Thessaly*, south of Macedonia, boasts Mount Olympus and fertile plains which produce a fifth of the country's wheat.

Central Greece, stretching from the Ionian to the Aegean Seas, holds many tourist attractions such as Thebes, Delphi, and Athens. It also includes the slender island of Euboea along its eastern flank.

The Peloponnesos, separated from the rest of mainland Greece by the Corinth Canal, is an archaeologist's paradise. It is important agriculturally as well as being intimately connected with Greece's liberation from Turkey in 1829.

In addition to these regions on the mainland there are five island groupings in the Greek kingdom:

The Aegean Islands hug the coast of Turkey. Lesbos is the largest, Chios perhaps the best known.

[48] *The Dodecanese Islands*, to the southeast of the mainland, came under Greek control after World War II with the defeat of the Italians. Rhodes, the chief island, is one of the major tourist attractions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

[778] [788] *The Cyclades Islands* are also to the southeast of, but nearer to, mainland Greece. Tinos, one of these islands, is the site of a miracle-working shrine visited by thousands of visitors every year on the Day of the Assumption.

Crete stands alone. Its civilization predates that of the mainland. Because of its better soil, more of its people are interested in farming than in fishing or shipping.

[731] *The Ionian Islands*, on the west coast of Greece, were the hardest hit in the devastating earthquakes of August 1953. They include the beautiful island of Corfu, which was not damaged, as well as Ithaca, home of Odysseus.

These regions, particularly those of the mainland, will be more than names on the map as one becomes familiar with the peasants who dwell in them and with many of the natural features associated with the mountains, the plains, and the sea.

823 Despite many difficulties, the rural Greeks continue to like the summits 361 about them, and they settle down in bleak and stony areas with a contentment hard for the outsider to understand. At a point between Lamia and Karpenesi near Tymphrestos Mountain, we passed a peasant woman who was driving a donkey loaded with alfalfa to her village.

"This is a nice place here, isn't it?" we said, to get a conversation started.

"Yes, it's nicely situated."

"Have you got water?"

[312] "Yes, we brought it from afar [made an installation] and now we are all right. The winter is hard but we are prepared to face it. We gather our wood in advance and we sit around our fireplaces, spin, weave, eat chestnuts, while our animals are down below eating their fodder."

A few miles farther on we talked to another woman walking along the road. She remarked in the course of the conversation: "My son wanted to go to America. He went. Now, he's longing for his mountains."

To understand Greece, therefore, one must know not only the geography of her mountains, but the meaning of these mountains to the people who make them their home. The economic struggle in these highland villages 241 is told by Papaspyropoulos in his account of Kleitoria, in the Peloponnesos. ● 433 Notice his comparison with the lowland villages.

> The villagers of my village, like all the others of that area, are farmers. Even the priest is an agriculturist, as well as the teacher, the doctor, and those who own the shops. The shepherds also are farmers; one day they go with [233] their sheep, and the next day they go to their fields. Farming is the basis; livestock and other occupations are secondary. Systematic livestock production is only done by the shepherds of Mount Chelmos. The agricultural life in our [312] village is very hard because the fields are few and divided into strips and the water is scarce. Each owner does not have his fields in one spot; he has one [423] stremma [one-fourth acre] here and another further down; the one on the heights and the other in the plains, the one to the right, the other to the left. Thus in walking "they melt [wear out] their shoes." The same and even worse takes place when it is time for watering. No roads! They walk on stones here and there in the ravines, and to go back to their village after their work, tired [487] as they are, they have to walk for an hour or more. And what sort of road! Abrupt paths and steep climbs. Neither shoes nor clothes can remain undamaged. They roam around in rags. Only on Sundays and on larger holidays can one see them in some way neatly dressed. A hard life without improvement, for the fields are few and not productive. A soft and restful life is led by the [312] lowlanders. They have a good plain, straight road and lots of water, which is supplied by the river there. For this reason they have all kinds of fruit orchards, vegetable gardens, and other kinds of trees.

THE PLAINS

162 361 Peasants nowadays live in the plains more willingly than they do in the mountains. Good level land has a scarcity value. The most thorough study of this has been made by A. G. Ogilvie, who prepared a map of population density in Greece for the *Geographical Journal* of May–June 1945. He has identified fifty-nine districts which he regards as plains. These usually contain the regional and local capitals and are widely scattered among and around mountains, including in most cases the slopes facing them. They take up about 30 percent of the mainland, but contain about 52 percent of the nonurban population. Thus, one half of the rural population lives upon plains comprising less than one third of the mainland; but this also means that the remaining one half of the rural population lives in a completely mountainous environment.

133 361 In Greece the largest plain — that of Trikkala-Karditsa in Thessaly — is less than five hundred square miles in size, not much larger than many American counties. The roll call of the plains, which are alluvial, would list the major provincial towns, whose location is in part an answer to the need for marketing and transportation services of the villagers located in the surrounding fertile agricultural areas. Whether I was traveling in the Peloponnesos, in Epirus, or elsewhere, it was always a stirring sight to climb some range and find spread out on the other side a fruitful valley, along a river or in some old lake basin whose water drained off long ago.

241 [361] [133] [433] [132] [349] When Greeks think of the plains, however, they think of the kind around Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, which has rapidly become the center of mechanized agriculture, or they think of the plain of Thessalonike in Macedonia. These are the most important breadbaskets of Greece. Familiarity with these plains means also familiarity with the sun of Greece, which beats down mercilessly in the summertime. Here, a clump of trees or even a single tree is an oasis of shade for a rest after hours of working the sun-baked fields. Where there is not even one tree, the peasants rig up tentlike shelters for use at noonday or take refuge beneath a battered umbrella. During the agricultural season the plains literally teem with people — seldom are they ever out of sight or sound; but they do become more tired and listless as the day wears on. [291] The peasant men in straw hats become tanned to the color of dark leather, as do many of the women in spite of their free-flowing headkerchiefs. The sun, nevertheless, works wonders with the crops, ripening the grain and bringing sweetness to the magnificent fruits of Greece.

312 If the plains make one conscious of the sun, they make one even more conscious of water — so much so that a tepid drink from a donkey-borne cask has a refreshing tang to it. On the plains there is usually too much

> One night "unknown persons" changed the course of the spring and the water was diverted toward Papadates. 312
>
> As Kerasovo villagers conferred in the village square, forty villagers from Papadates, armed with stones, assaulted the fringes of Kerasovo. 423 628
>
> A general alert was sounded. Hoes were taken from the barns of Kerasovo, knives from the kitchens and hand grenades — relics of the Greek civil war — from various hiding places.
>
> Meanwhile, armed reinforcements arrived from Papadates. Policemen fired into the air to intimidate the enraged villagers, but no one paid any attention.
>
> A few hours later two infantry companies arrived from the nearest town and imposed martial law. Two teen-age girls died from injuries received during the battle. (*New York Times*, September 9, 1954)

136 The storks like to nest in a village around which there are watered meadows or even marshes. In the village of Almyros, between Lamia and Volos (in Thessaly), a family of storks had built a huge nest of mud and twigs around the cross on the top of the church. "You see," the peasants of Almyros say, "his nest on that spot shows that the stork is a blessed bird." Pharsala, on the main route between Athens and Thessalonike, stands out as a town especially favored by the storks whose coming is considered a good omen. [825] [787] In Epirus and Macedonia and Thrace the evening silence is often broken by the rattlelike noise which this bird makes with his red beak — his white plumage gleaming in the waning sunlight and his long legs silhouetted against the sky. The storks are to the plains what the eagle is to the mountain, one a bird of the lowlands which builds his nests in the chimneys of village homes with people all around, and the other a bird of the heights preferring solitude and willing to pit himself against nature's angriest moods.

MOUNTAINS VERSUS PLAINS

184 361 Mountains and plains take on social meaning as people try to gain a living from them. In Greece people frequently speak of "mountain villages" and "plains villages" as though their residents differed from each other. As a matter of fact, both in physical appearance (location, house types, and land use) and in accessibility, the plains and mountain villages are distinct and will be described more fully in a later chapter.

184 433 K. D. Karavidas, of the Agricultural Bank of Greece, has for a long time been interested in this problem and points it up by telling an anecdote:

> 511 722 [464] This happened in a mountain village in Central Greece near the Gulf of Corinth. Every year these people would come down to the plains, work fifteen days, and get beans and wheat to carry them through the year. During the German occupation, however, the prices of food went so high that the plains peasants decided to do their own harvesting. They took the produce, which

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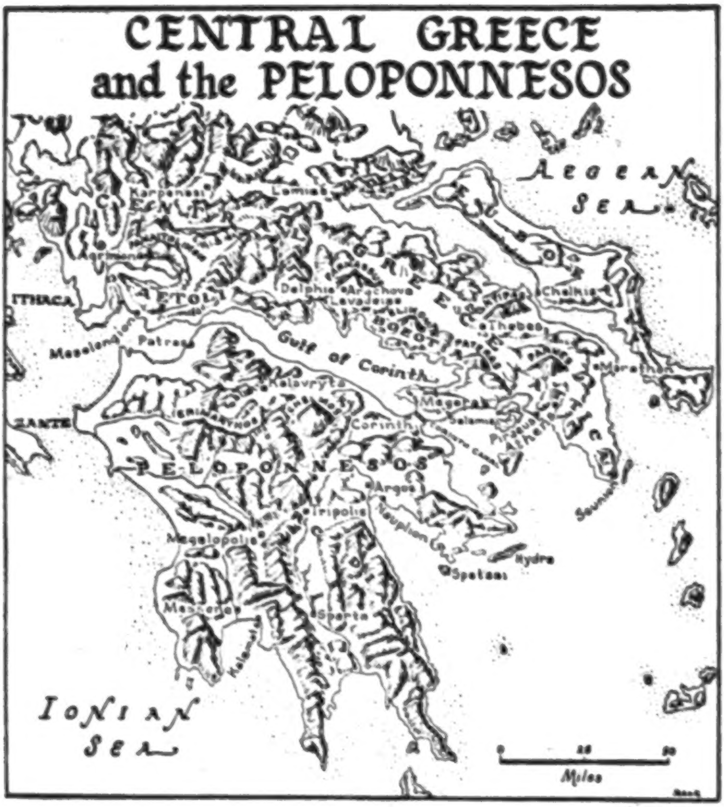
CENTRAL GREECE and the PELOPONNESOS
Aegean Sea
Karpenesi
Lamia
Agrinion
ITHACA
Aetolia
Delphi
Arachova
Levadeia
Boeotia
Thebes
Chalkis
Messolonghi
Patras
Gulf of Corinth
Kalavryta
Megara
Salamis
Marathon
Piraeus
Athens
ZANTE
Corinth
PELOPONNESOS
Argos
Tripolis
Nauplion
Megalopolis
Hydra
Spetsai
Sounion
Messene
Sparta
Kalamata
Ionian Sea
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would have normally been paid to the mountain people, to Patras and sold it for its weight in gold. As a result, the highland villagers faced serious difficulties.

About this time a band of five young guerrillas came by the village and demanded hospitality. The villagers took them in and killed a lamb so that they could dine in plenty. After a few months, the same band put in another appearance, but this time the people could only provide a cock for the dinner. On the third visit, much later on, a wheat dish had to be the main course. Finally, on a fourth visit, when the members of the band were served only onions and garlic, they turned to the villagers and said: "You are hungry. Do you see those villages on the plain below? Why don't you go down there and take the food away from them, take their land, and let them come up here and live?"

An old villager answered: "Yes, we may be able to go down there and beat them now and begin to live in their homes. But within a few years they would be strong enough to come down and take all their former fields away from us. Where would we be then? No, we'll get along as best we can." 184 433 511

This story, as did those gathered from many later visits to numerous villages, illustrates the economic distinctions between the mountain and the plains villages. Life in the uplands is more self-subsistent, if for no other reason than the difficulty of getting crops such as figs and apricots to market. Cash crops figure much less prominently. But in spite of the economic disadvantages of the mountain villages, many of their people understand their common cause with the people of the plains. [722]

A group of social-work students at Pierce College near Athens was asked to distinguish between the plains and mountain villages. Since these students came from villages in every region of Greece, the list of characteristics they prepared is of some value in indicating what village people think the distinctions are: 184 157 829

Mountain villagers	*Plains villagers*
Change slowly	Accept change, adapt better
Physically tough	Refined in manners
More hospitable	More sophisticated
Stubborn	Cunning
Happier, more optimistic	Sad (Thessaly)
Have deeper thoughts	
More intermarriage of kin	

An additional observation made by a successful Athens businessman, who was born in a mountain village, highlighted some of the advantages that the plains village has over the place from which he came: "For instance, water has been brought close to the houses in the plains so the people don't have to carry it so far; electricity has come in; new means of communication enable them to travel around; those teaching new methods of agriculture can visit to tell them what to plant and when to plant it." 184 511

Despite their isolation, the mountain people are considered by many Greeks to be brighter and more active than those of the plains. Indeed, many mountain villages are thought to have been settled by the more liberal, strongly independent inhabitants of the plain who could not support the indignities of Ottoman rule. According to one commandant of police, they are also less law-abiding. 184 157 829 Although many of their young people habitually and successfully migrated elsewhere, most of the mountain people were contented with their simple life until the Communist guerrilla war of the 1940s made them vacate their homes for a temporary stay in market towns or cities on the plains. [166 722] In spite of this exposure to easier ways, the mountain villagers still are believed to have greater fortitude and a willingness to put up with stark conditions, not simply from resigna-

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[829] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to
[434] the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the
plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the
estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts,
lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent
Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries
[164] from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were
probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more
healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences
186 between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we
should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common,
such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government
officials in Athens.

THE SEA

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
● 433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than
compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[262] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second
World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to
[439] 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest
had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of
the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[14] Students of the problem
[654] seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the
trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing
[727] industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being
replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage.
501 Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500
ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large
ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138
[439] miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by
the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the
original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant
marine,

361 the buildings around the plateia catch the eye. The church with its bell
[764] tower and dome is easily spotted. The cemetery is at the edge of the village,
we are told, "back there where you passed the row of tall cypress trees."
The school is usually nearby. If school is in session, then the noise of chil-
dren at recess can be distinctly heard, as can the bell which calls them
[623] indoors. A sign rather than the size of the building announces the head-
quarters of the local village council. Many villages have a cooperative so-
[474] ciety, identified by a sign on its office near the plateia. Other coffeehouses
and one or two small grocery stores account for the rest of the buildings
[275] on the square.[2] The universality of these coffeehouses and small shops is
shown in Table 1, presenting the services provided in eight villages of more
than a thousand in population, in the early 1950s.[3] Some of the items
deserve fuller explanation.

256 *The flour mills.* In the case of the Xanthe village, four of the flour mills were
built during the occupation, the other two long before then. These mills operate
●[433] not more than a total of thirty days each during the year because local grain
production is very limited and also because local people get their ration flour
ready-ground from the government.

[402] The one flour mill in the Mesolongi village has an old engine which uses
charcoal for fuel and which hardly works more than two days a week. Most of
the time it is under repair. Many of the villagers are therefore obliged to take
their grain to the mills of neighboring villages.

The bakeries. In the larger villages these find sufficient business to stay open not only to sell their goods but to bake throughout the day for the village housewives, who bring in either unbaked loaves of bread or some dish for the ovens. With fuel so scarce in many parts of the country, it is much more economical at times for a family to take an uncooked casserole to the commercial baker than to try to bake it at home.

443 *The village stores.* In one of the Macedonian villages the yearly gross sales
of the seven stores run from just less than $700 for the smallest one to $3330
452 for the two largest. These same two largest ones extend over $1000 of credit
[434] each year, while the smallest one gives no credit.

The owners of these stores purchase their goods directly from wholesale
[472] dealers in Salonica and bring them to the village with trucks or horsecarts.
They do not hire any outside laborers, but use their sons or family members for
[437] the work. All stores sell for cash, credit, or take different farm products as
payment. The credit extended to farmers by the different shopkeepers depends
on the financial situation and the economic standing of the customers. More
credit is given to farmers who own livestock because they are able to pay
back their debts at more frequent intervals than ordinary farmers, who can pay
back their debts only once a year after harvest. No direct interest is charged
on credit goods, but their price is usually such as to include the interest.

The studies cited contain much more information about these village stores. The stock carried may include food, clothing, and farm implements.

241 more acutely and will find it harder to raise the level of living in many of
511 the depressed areas of the country.

LAND USE IN GREECE

311 What each peasant does with his own birthright of land adds up to the
use Greece as a whole makes of her soil resources.[14] We may not be able
to spot the patterns of ownership from observing the countryside, but we
can see what is being grown and can check casual impressions against the
official figures. Of 100 acres, 25 are used for agriculture, 15 are in forest,
and the remaining 60 are in scrub, settlements, poor natural pasture, or
[491] just plain rock, gravel, or swamp. Roads, however, tend to take the observer
through the areas where the land is cultivated and where many
[241] fields lie close together. In such areas, if we look only at the agricultural
land, out of every 100 acres we would see 46 acres in grain, 5 in other food
crops, 4 in industrial crops (cotton, tobacco, and so on), 25 in orchards
and gardens, and 20 acres lying fallow. In the farm areas of the United
States we would not find so high a proportion of fallow land, nor so much
in orchards and gardens; instead, there would be more land in temporary
meadows and in forage crops, because of our greater emphasis on livestock
even though we have only about 27 acres out of each 100 in agricultural
land, close to the Greek figure of 25. Our forest area takes up 32 acres
(double that of Greece) and all other uses, 41 acres.

When we think of the land hunger of many Greeks, and the insufficient diet they get from their harvests, we wonder if there is any way to change these statistics. Is there more arable land available than 25 out of each 100 acres? Is there possibility of better use? Two studies, one Greek and one American, supply partial answers for those concerned about the peasant and his handful of earth.

311 *Greece Today*, a publication of the National Bank of Greece and Athens,
in a 1954 article on Greek agriculture, points out that the available land is
241 inadequately exploited owing to lack of funds. Only 7.8 percent of the agricultural
land is irrigated; 11.5 percent is under mechanized cultivation;
and chemical fertilizers, although used in twice the quantity of a few years
ago, still cover not more than 25 percent of the cultivated land. Further-
● [433] more, when Greece is compared with 14 other European countries, the
yield of Greek agriculture, expressed in gross income per unit of area, is
63 percent below, livestock production is 44 percent below, and the productivity
of the labor of the Greek farmer is 48 percent below the respective
average for these countries.

A study made by the American Mission for Aid to Greece indicates that
[423] much more efficient use could be made of the so-called idle lands, most of
which are owned or administered by the state.[15] They were obtained in
the population exchange of 1922–24, and from the Chams (*Tsamides* is

the Greek for this Albanian Moslem minority) and Communists when they 311
fled Greece, from Italian reparations and the relinquishment of some lands 241
by the royal family. These government-controlled lands total from one
fourth to one third of all of the agricultural land in the country, and many [423]
of them are so inefficiently administered that they are not producing at anywhere near their full capacity. Some of the abuses often cited are:

> Tenants have not been able to get title to land they have been working for thirty years. [427]
>
> Land and orchards have been auctioned for a one-year period to nonoperating individuals who sublet to peasants on crop-sharing basis, with both parties having little interest in maintaining soil fertility.
>
> Large tracts of fertile farmland have been leased year after year for grazing [664
> purposes, either because of political pressure by stock owners or simply because 427]
> of inefficient and shortsighted administration.
>
> Other lands, idle for years, have suffered devasting damage from flood, for [312]
> dikes and drainage ditches have not been maintained.
>
> Orchards containing hundreds of thousands of olive and fruit trees have gone untended and unpruned for years.

Whether the problem lies in the lack of funds, as the National Bank claims, or in poor administrative practices, as the American Mission claims, or in both, it is obvious that there is much work ahead for those planning the more complete use of the Greek birthright in land and wanting to satisfy the peasant's desperate need for life-sustaining work.

The significance of land is shown in the importance of agricultural prod- 433
ucts in the total economy of the country. Let us look at the export figures 439
for 1956–57. Out of the $213 million of exports, about $187.5 million, or
88 percent, was in agricultural products (cotton, tobacco, grapes, raisins, 241
apples, and so on). The balance of $25.5 million represented mainly exports of chemicals, textiles, ores, and industrial raw materials.[20] These figures show that land is important not merely to the peasant but to all Greece as she today seeks to find markets abroad in order to get foreign exchange to import raw materials and finished products not available within her borders.

The rural Greeks, quite unconsciously on their part, remind us that one
of life's basic relationships is that of man to the land.[21] In many studies I 423
have made of rural people, I have found that this is a crucial focus, which 241
many specialists from industrialized societies are apt to minimize or over-
look, much to their disadvantage. To some peasants, still steeped in tradi- 178
tion, the earth is holy and is not treated in the light of modern knowledge to make it more productive; other peasants are taking up scientific agriculture and in doing so tend to think of the soil as a commodity. If tradition holds too tightly, which it probably will not do among the energetic Greek

243 exhaustion hangs over the incessant labor of these peasants through the
178 fields of Greece at threshing time. And when the onlooker finally sees the
combine doing all of the operations at once, he experiences a feeling of relief. It is as if the accumulated work and sweat of centuries begins to be removed from the people who struggle for their bread.

[241] Mechanization has begun to do miracles in the waste lands of Greece as
well. One of the agricultural achievements since the war has been the drain-
[311] age of marshlands by gigantic earth-moving machinery and dredges, thus
[406] putting large acreages under rice cultivation for the first time. Here the
machine is a mixed blessing, for where rice growing has come with its
[462] promise of higher income for the people, it has also meant much heavier
burdens for the women to whose lot falls the new task of planting the rice
and cultivating it while the men give the orders and manipulate the flow
of water.

178 The machine age has also brought pumps: not the kind powered by
312 blindfolded donkeys or by tired human feet, but the kind that are run by
gas engines or, in some places, by electricity. First, heavy drills operated
241 by a semigovernment agency reach down for the water and, when it is
406 found, the pumps are installed. The water is channeled into thirsty cotton
fields and vegetable gardens to help raise the agricultural production of
[433] Greece up to as much as 37 percent over prewar figures.

Around Larissa, in Thessaly, on the trip with the director of agriculture
241 and on other trips through that area, I had seen the great concentration of
422 mechanized equipment which contrasted sharply with many other areas of
178 Greece where peasants found it hard to get even iron plowshares or new
hoes or sickles. In this mechanized area I talked with a man who bought a
[407] tractor. Alekos was his name. This is what he told me: "Three years ago
I bought a tractor on the installment plan. The first year I did very well,
[452] for I could do work for my neighbors after I finished my own work and
they paid me a good income. Now six of my neighbors have tractors; own-
[464] ing one is like a craze and I do not have so much work to do for others."

Alekos went on to describe how the wheat of his village had been
[243] threshed by machinery since 1925, each farmer bringing his grain to the
place where the thresher had been set up, but nobody locally had owned a
tractor and the thresher had come in from outside. Since the war, however,
[554] tractors had become so popular that they were symbols of social prestige.
We told Alekos that we had been much amused by the sight of the peasants
going to market in town with their families aboard the tractors and wondered if the higher the tractor the greater the prestige. He smiled and said:

> That is partly true but in the beginning only those who had 250 acres of land could buy a tractor and they needed a medium rather than a small tractor. Now anybody can buy a tractor who can afford one and will try to get one as good as his neighbor's.

So. Greece

258 placement in a stack one at a time after three gallons of boiling water have
[576] been poured over each, and the final subjection of the stack to 200 pounds
of pressure. If the peasant carefully watched this while his olives were being
[465] processed, it would show lack of trust in the honesty of the millowner, to
whom he must give 10 percent of the oil before he takes the rest home to
be stored in earthenware jars for later use or sale. When he comes for his
[273] olives, the peasant will probably bring a gallon of wine to the workmen who
drink to his health, saying "Kalaphagoto" (May it be well eaten). Later,
251 in visiting the homes of the villagers, I asked about the storage of the oil
262 and found that the big jars were kept in the storeroom with the hay and
fodder. These jars were covered with a wooden lid. When I removed the
lid I noticed a rancid odor quite different from the oil I had sampled during
the pressing at the mill. "This oil has spoiled," I said, in my ignorance.
"No, that is just right," I was told. "We want our oil to smell like oil,"
which was another way of saying that a certain degree of rancidness was
considered most desirable.

465 And seeing in the home one of the young women who had been engaged
in the harvesting a few weeks before, I asked how much she had earned.
[245] Since she was a good worker, she had been given 1.5 okas (4.2 pounds) of
oil per day for 42 days. When told how many dollars such an amount of
pure olive oil would bring in America, her eyes opened wide and she said,
"If only I had all of my oil in that many dollars I could start to build that
house in Athens that I want for my dowry." The six or seven men that
[258] work through the season in the mill are even better off, for they receive
2.5 okas of oil per day as wages, and the foreman gets 3 okas; in addition,
their food is usually provided by either the millowner or the peasant
producers who bring their crop to be pressed.

241 The description of the distribution and utilization of arable land and
these encounters with the peasant at work show that the peasant is not
● 433 so self-subsistent as he used to be. He is more than a producer who uses
511 only what he grows; he must also market his products to pay off his loan
from the agricultural bank, which he incurred in order to get more equipment,
good seed, or better livestock. He needs money for taxes, clothing,
many food items, and other necessities such as kerosene and hardware.
What he gets for the work he has done depends upon government credit
and price policies, world markets, his adoption of efficient farm practices,
and the marketing facilities set up near him.

178 they have heard. Many of these are not forced on the villagers, nor even urged upon them, but have some appeal which causes men, women, and young people to experiment with them. If they give satisfaction, then they become incorporated in the general social patterns. To trace these changes due to social drift would be a review of what has been written so far, yet the comparison of the descriptions by adults of life in their villages when they were young with what one observes there today indicates that over a period of time innovations, both social and technological, reached these villages, were adopted by the bolder individuals, and were imitated in time by others. 178 511 Within recent years the tempo of change in rural Greece has been speeded up. The Bishop of Messenia, already referred to in the discussion of religion, observed:

369 [454]

> People have now raised their standard of living well above their possibility to pay. They want running water in their home, city clothes, and modern furniture. They don't go into debt necessarily to obtain these things, but they have stopped saving as they used to do. When they have money, they spend it; they don't save it. They have made very great strides in education. They all want a road right up to their village so automobiles can reach them; they all want electricity. The changes which would have normally taken fifty years are now compressed into ten.

Greece, therefore, is a good example of the rising level of expectations going on among rural people the world over. Through the "percolation" of ideas and impressions into the rural areas, many people are demanding what the city person has long taken for granted: education, a road to one's door, electricity, and running water.

178 Many factors enter into the decisions by village people to do something new. Population increase or decrease affects life in rural areas. With an increase, the father has to divide his patrimony among more children, with the result that farms get smaller, less efficient, and people approach the poverty line if offsetting measures are not found. With population loss, those who are left have to make many new adjustments.

178 433 464 241 A study made by two Dutch geographers, de Vooys and Piket, during April and May 1957, of two villages in the Peloponnesos showed the connection between population (viewed as labor supply) and social change. The residents of one community, on the edge of the Argos Plain, produce tobacco, olives, and grain, and also raise sheep. The economy is thus transitional, between the economy of the plains and that of the mountains. After analyzing the labor requirements of this community and weighing the gains from introduction of modern farm technology, the geographers conclude:

> A burning question in the under-developed countries is how to *increase prosperity*. As a matter of course, enlargement of the very small holdings would be considered the solution where the agrarian sector is concerned. But even if a

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

part of the peasant population could be successfully transferred elsewhere, this would merely cause a shortage of labour in the fields under the present system of exploitation. A great part of the cultivated area would remain fallow and only be used for grazing. . . . In the tobacco villages the problem would be the reduction of the labour peaks in the spring and summer: these require all the labour available and even cause a fairly extensive seasonal migration. Mechanization might bring about some decrease in the April and May peaks. The result would be that more seasonal female labour would be needed for tobacco planting. The labour peak in August is caused by the tobacco harvest and this work cannot be mechanized or simplified. If the holdings are enlarged, more female labour would have to be attracted; on the other hand, however, the production per farm unit of the cash crops tobacco and wheat . . . would be augmented, thus increasing local prosperity.[4] 178 433 464 241

In the second village studied, one located in the Megalopolis Basin, de Vooys and Piket were impressed by its remarkably deserted appearance. Many houses were unoccupied, abandoned terraces betrayed former vine growing, and bushes had grown up on formerly tilled fields. Why has this come about in a country where land is so scarce?

The agricultural unit was originally based on two cornerstones: growing grain and keeping sheep. Self-sufficiency was remarkably developed; only the sale of surplus products — derived from the sheep — supplied a scanty money income. When finally a money economy penetrated here, the inhabitants reacted to it by mass emigration: especially the younger generation moved away. At first this lightened the population pressures, but when the migration process persisted, it soon became clear that the consequences were serious. The older people eventually died and the land was left to descendants who lived elsewhere. When these heirs lived far off, either in Athens or abroad, they had little interest in such legacies. They neglected the land and permitted the other villagers to use it as common pasture.[5] [166]

The writers conclude that only a radical change in the labor processes (mechanization and simultaneous enlargement of the holdings) and changes in the attitude of the peasants (enabling the founding of cooperative societies, together with the immigration of young families into this region, will turn this area around Megalopolis into a prosperous one. Thus we see the close connection between population shifts, economic trends, and social change.

Another factor affecting change in the village is the family head's economic ability to make the changes he would like. The Greek peasants, though numbering more than half (55 percent) of the total population, receive about 45 percent of the total national income.[6] The per-capita income of the 900,000 farm families runs lower than the national average of $185 per year, a figure permitting only minimal improvements, no matter how strong the desire. 178 434 [162]

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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication). [127]

CHAPTER VI. THE CHANGING LIFE OF THE SHEPHERD

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1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture,* XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture.

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	84.00
Lamb	24.77	
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1954	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dase kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessalonike, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

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5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism.

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6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized 593
that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually 162
carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire
household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it 592
always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers 621
who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all 592
equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, 241
their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression 434
of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural 433
activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. 245
Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two 221
stremata (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed 804
at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him 273
in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have
abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a 372
vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as
fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are 252
particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually 147
takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle
of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling 461
motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the 412
earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy
hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two 462

243 at a cost of eight percent of the amount of the wheat threshed. This machine
427 leaves the straw in suitable condition for a baler which is hired next to press the
straw into bales for food for the horses, mules, and donkeys.

237 The harvesting machinery is privately owned by entrepreneurs in the
471 towns. Simple threshers have been known and used on the Boeotian plain for a
generation at least. The combine has appeared only since World War II and
407 the hay baler only since the early 1950's. What accounts for the increasing willingness of the farmers to pay for machine operations on their wheat crop? Un-
241 questionably, the growing efficiency of cotton production and the success of
433 cotton and tobacco as cash crops enable the farmers to concentrate their labor
and attention on cotton and tobacco production and to let the growing cash value
242 of the crops make up for the loss of a certain percentage of the wheat crop. However, chemical fertilizers and weed killers have increased the wheat yields, and since payment for machine harvesting is in kind and not in cash, the entire transaction can be managed at what to the farmers is a minimal cost.

243 A household uses its own wheat for making its bread, and bread is still
literally the staff of life, the basic food for the people of the village. Wheat is
437 also used for a kind of cereal called *trakhana* and for egg noodles. It is given as
262 payment to the shepherds, whose wives turn the wheat income into their families'
bread supply. It continues to be used as an alternative medium of exchange for
438 fish, olive oil, olives, coffee, and other household necessities not locally produced.
231 As we have seen, the wheat straw is useful for the care of animals, and finally,
in an emergency, some wheat can always be sold for cash.

246 A typical farmer of Vasilika reserves four or five *stremata* of his land
231 for oats, barley, and clover. These furnish food for the pack animals not only
during the winter, but also in the early summer when the animals are permitted
to graze in the oat and clover fields as the crops mature. A small corner of a
244 grain field may be used for lentils and beans, which add to the household's food
262 supply.

248 The crops which most interest the farmers of Vasilika today are cotton
and tobacco. Because of the dry summers in Boeotia cotton production in the
312 region depends on irrigation. The high water-table makes well-pump irrigation
406 feasible. This system is also suited to the patterns of the rural social structure
since it requires no centralized control or authority—each farmer household can
249 dig its own well and work its own pump for its own fields. Any man who has
621 not yet purchased a pump can hire the use of one owned by a farmer with
427 adjacent fields.

Cotton became a significant cash crop for Vasilika around 1936 when
one of the farmers who had heard about horse-driven well-pumps set one up
for himself and the other farmers soon followed suit. Since World War II,
652 British-manufactured diesel pumps bought on the installment plan with credit
extended from the Agricultural Bank have replaced the horse-drawn equipment.
427 Diesel pumps, like the tractors, may be rented by the day and the renter pays
for fuel also. The market for the use of the pump goes beyond the village itself

249 night. In October, the dried tobacco is pressed into bales by machines the
221 farmers have for the purpose, and is then ready for sale.

407 A farmer can get 720 *okadbes* of tobacco from 6 *stremata* of land, and
433 if he succeeds in selling the entire crop at 30 drachmas an *oka*, he receives the
equivalent of $720. This is a very good income, indeed, especially when it is
434 added to that derived from cotton.

471 Vasilika farmers are obviously in need of some capitalization to finance
what have become considerable investments necessary for producing their wheat,
241 cotton, and tobacco. Whether or not the farmers' savings would be adequate to
454 finance their crops, the fact is that Vasilika farmers do not want to use their
accumulated savings to invest in their own farms. Cash drachma savings are
652 exchanged for gold English sovereigns or French or Italian specie, which ac-
583 cumulations are then set aside for the dowries of the girls of the family or to
pay for the education of a son. The only notable exception to this use of savings
556 is that the farmer who becomes wealthy enough to feel that his obligations to his
children are taken care of may buy land if the opportunity presents itself. At
the same time that the farmer does not want to spend savings on the current pro-
duction of his crops, he is eager for an increased cash income to secure the future
of his children. Increased cash income is possible only through investment in
his farm. How does he get out of the dilemma? He willingly accepts credit from
242 the Agricultural Bank of Greece. In addition, farmers accept from the bank the
needed seed, artificial fertilizers, and chemical weed killers and insect sprays.
March is the month in which the loans are made by the bank, so that the farmers
always receive their money before Easter. Both the manager of the Agricultural
Bank in Levadhia and we were aware of the fact that some of the money was
used for Easter finery and Easter feasting. We had the impression that the
farmers considered the loan as cash income to be spent as they wished. The re-
payments of principle and interest due in October were viewed by the farmers
as something like an additional expense or tax chargeable against current income
from the produce, and in this sense, not as expenditure of savings.

Miscellaneous Crops

244 Each household maintains a small kitchen garden near the cotton fields.
This location permits the farmers to irrigate and to tend to the garden at the
462 same time they work with the cotton. Both men and women work in the gardens
to raise tomatoes, eggplant, cucumbers, squash, and melons of various kinds,
but only to the extent necessary for immediate consumption by the household
and its hired farm labor through the growing season. No effort is made to
433 produce surplus for canning or for any other kind of home processing. Besides
the summer vegetable gardens, in the early spring, the women of a few house-
holds fence off a rectangular area near the houses and plant spring onions,
417 lettuce, spinach, and a type of lima bean called *kukya*. The wire or reed fenc-

the members of several farm households get supplementary income from various 434
sources besides wage labor. Bee-keeping, for example, is becoming an increasingly 511
popular supplementary activity. Three households have as many as a [231]
dozen hives and sell the honey. A few households raise pigeons as an extra
source of food, and now and then one or two may join together to raise a pig. [235]
One farmer's son has what might be called the "fish concession" in Vasilika. He [443]
contracts to buy the fresh fish from an itinerant vendor and then sells the fish in [438]
Vasilika at a tiny profit.

The proprietorship of the coffeehouses in Vasilika enables two of
Vasilika's households substantially to supplement the income which they derive [445]
from their agricultural holdings.

Two young, still unmarried girls have had training as dressmakers. One [294]
of the girls, who learned her skill in Athens, spends all her time sewing and
rarely contributes to fieldwork on the farm. The second girl, who had her apprenticeship [463]
in Levadhia, works on clothes for her customers in intervals between all her field and household chores. Every woman in the village can do some sewing and several have foot-driven machines, but the two seamstresses are kept busy and add to the cash income of their households.

The traditional role of the village priest is occupied in Vasilika by a 793
substantial farmer, with a wife, five grown children, and several grandchildren. 463
He not only performs his regular religious duties but is also the head of the
church and the few properties owned by it. He receives a small salary from the [434]
state, and also derives income from performing baptisms, weddings, and [796]
funerals. Greek Orthodox tradition requires the priest to officiate at other occasions,
such as the dedication of a new home or the termination of a woman's [846]
forty days of seclusion after childbirth, and he receives small money gifts for these services. But on the tax rolls of the community the priest's occupation is listed as farmer. This is a reasonable designation because both he and his wife, natives of the village, have inherited some local lands. The priest's household, therefore, participates in the agricultural cycle common to the rest of the farmers. Although the priest now confines himself largely to supervision, if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in.

The village church organization provides for three additional salaried 463
posts: two farmers serve as chanters and an elderly widow as sexton. Finally,
the formal political organization of the village includes the position of secretary [794]
to the village council. This office is a minor civil service post which requires no [624]
qualification other than literacy, pays a small monthly stipend, and is usually
held by the appointee as long as he performs his duties satisfactorily. [434]

In all the cases just described, the supplementary activities are superimposed
on the grape-wheat-cotton-tobacco farming base. The shepherds of [433]
contemporary Vasilika, however, have a significantly different round of life which there is insufficient space to discuss fully here.

445 them. But Vasilika's farmers easily fit the need for mechanics into their old
patterns.
463 The constant utilization of specialists means that the farmers and
[433] shepherds of Vasilika have not for generations expected to be economically self-
sufficient, but have always assumed that some part of their produce either had
to be sold to buy services or had to be directly exchanged for them. The innova-
[178] tions since 1950, which have increased the proportion of cash crops raised, have
involved no new concepts, nor have they required the development of any new
attitudes. What has happened has been an extension and intensification of the
262 already existing patterns. This is equally true of the purchase of foods as it is
of skills. Olive oil, macaroni products, coffee, sugar, lemons, and dried fish have
438 long been common articles of diet for the villagers and have never been pro-
178 duced in the area. Additional income has increased the consumption of these
511 items and has made for somewhat greater varation in the diet, but the assump-
tion that a considerable amount of food must be purchased is an old one.

461 Specialization in Vasilika has noneconomic consequences as well. Since a
village farmer who has time to spare from his work in the fields and from his care
517 of his draught animals does not spend it on repair and maintenance chores on
356 his property, he has the time to go to the coffeehouse to sit and talk. In the late
463 fall, one farmer kept saying, "A few more days of work, and then we will sit
in the store. We sit all winter." Although he exaggerated the situation, his comments represented the regular expectation that for men, at least, relief from field chores was a relief from *all* kinds of work. The division of labor characteristic of the Boeotian countryside gives the men of Vasilika some true leisure time.

463 The foregoing discussion of specialization and division of labor in the
Boeotian countryside should not leave an impression of a rigid set of expectations
626 from which there are never any deviations. Although the pattern is a clear one,
183 as in so many other aspects of the culture of Vasilika, individual variation, even
to the point of reversing the ordinary expectation, is tolerated. For example, one farmer decided to construct a new oven for himself without the help of a stonemason or bricklayer. Everyone watched the progress of the small structure with interest but without any special comment. When, unfortunately, the entire structure collapsed just before it was finished, the men in the coffeehouse thought it a great joke and laughed heartily at the farmer's discomfiture. Only then did they remark on his lack of good sense in not getting an expert to do the job. He was not condemned for attempting to do something different; but he was ridiculed all the more strongly when he did not succeed. In less striking instances, farmers often assist an artisan with his work, and may even occasionally try their hands at whitewashing or laying a few bricks and the like. The point here however, is that it is neither a matter of pride nor of pleasure to have skills in many activities, and men and women alike prefer to avoid the chance of making themselves look ridiculous by trying to do something at which they are not certain to succeed.

178 Many of the economic patterns described in this and the previous chapter
241 have become characteristic on the Boeotian plain only within the last twenty-five
433 years, with considerable acceleration of change since 1950. Farmers in their

fifties remember a childhood in which wheat was the major crop, with some 178
corn, chick peas, and lentils as a supplement. Only a small amount of cotton 241
was raised. Each household owned more sheep, horses, and mules than the present villagers. The animal dung fertilized the fields, some fields were permitted to 433
lie fallow each year, and whatever cash income there was came from the sale of surplus wheat and small quantities of cotton, wool, and milk. The farmers all agree that one householder, working alone with occasional hired help, derives more income from his patrimony of 35 *stremata* than his father gained from 180 *stremata* worked with the help of several sons. [434]

The increased mechanization on the farms of Vasilika and the more extended and intensive cultivation of cotton and tobacco have unquestionably increased the cash income of the villagers. The same conditions have led to increased indebtedness and a greater dependence on world markets. [511]

Every household in Vasilika has accepted the new techniques and has been affected to a greater or lesser extent by the consequences. Whatever differences exist in methods of cultivation are dictated by the differences in immediate practical possibilities and necessities in each household, and there is no consistent pattern from this point of view which distinguishes one group of Vasilika households from another. From the standpoint of agricultural techniques, there is neither a progressive faction nor a conservative faction in Vasilika.

The uniformity of acceptance of change has been possible in Vasilika, I 178
believe, because all the villagers, farmers and shepherds alike, work for the same 594
goal: the enhancement of the honor and prestige of the family. One important culturally approved means of achieving the goal is the upward mobility of family 554
members. But upward mobility rests partly, at least, on an improved material 511
standard of living. Any change which enables a village family to increase its material wealth is, therefore, welcomed after a consciously empirical assessment of its effectiveness. [556]

One of the methods by which a family can express its social position in Vasilika and its aspirations toward mobility is by the way it uses its income. The next chapter will discuss, therefore, some of the consumption habits of the villagers.

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sometimes use their meager cash resources on plastic tablecloths or new clothes, 511
as a token of their participation in the battle for prestige. [556]

One important characteristic of the changes in the villagers' consumption
habits is that virtually all the substitutions and additions require the villagers to 454
dip into their cash resources. In this respect, the new needs act as a spur to the 433
cash crop economy of the settlement and provide motivation for more efficient
farming. Increased efficiency in farming adds to income and it becomes possible 178
to finance still more innovations. The extent to which this kind of interrelated 511
process can continue is, of course, dependent on world markets for the villagers'
produce, on the level of economic activity in the entire Greek nation, and, more
specifically, on the extent to which the population no longer needed on the farms
can be productively employed in the towns and cities. The inheritance and dowry
system of Vasilika's residents is central to this matter and is the subject of the
next chapter.

share of the land at the time of their marriage, the shares remaining for the sons 428
will be too small to enable them to support their future wives and children, the 583
family recognizes the problem and tries to make some adjustment that will 423
prevent the threatened poverty. The villagers are well aware of the dangers of
land fragmentation under a system of equal inheritance. The average land holding
in Vasilika is already only one-third to one-fourth of what it was at the
time the village was settled. Thanks to the introduction of irrigation and
improvements in agricultural techniques (see Chapters 2 and 3), both the bulk [433]
of yields and the cash value of the crops in the area have increased to the point
at which the farmers maintain a higher standard of living on the smaller holdings
than their grandfathers did on the more extensive ones. But the process
has its limits, and the future possibility of economically useless small holdings is
a real hazard for Vasilika's families.

One kind of solution to its problem is for a family to try to train or educate 369
its "surplus" sons for a nonfarming occupation; if possible, one that will
send them to the towns and cities as white-collar workers or as professional men. 463
This effort, however, is more than merely a solution to a recognized problem. 871
Status as an urbanite has very high value for the villagers in its own right. As
the previous chapter has shown, the families of Vasilika try to import urban ways [594]
into the village; their efforts to send their own sons and daughters directly into [166]
the towns and cities may now be discussed. For quite apart from the necessities
of their situation, the people of Vasilika act as if they assumed that life in towns
and cities is superior to life in a small village. This judgment is not based on a
belief that there is necessarily greater economic well-being in the towns. On the
contrary, the villagers believe it is more difficult to achieve a respectable standard
in the larger centers and, indeed, that the plight of the poor is worse in the town
than in the village. They say it is harder to have little when one is tempted by
so much. But the villagers respect an educated man; education enables a person
to pursue occupations which the villagers believe have greater prestige than farming,
and the preponderance of these occupations are practiced in towns. Not only
white-collar workers but also journalists, lawyers, doctors, writers, gymnasium
and university professors congregate in the provincial towns and in Athens (cf.
Antonakaki 1955:93). Even if a young man from Vasilika is not fortunate
enough to work in one of these favored occupations—even if he is a tailor or
a barber or an artisan of another type, or a small merchant—he is believed to
acquire some aura of prestige simply by living in the more populous center.

The young girls of Vasilika want to marry into the towns because they 369
are well aware of the greater physical ease and comfort available there and contrast [166]
these conditions favorably with the arduous and endless labor they are accustomed [581]
to in the village.

Still another incentive for gaining the status of a town dweller is the
belief, in Vasilika, that life in town is more full of adventure and less monotonous
than life in the village. Besides, the towns and Athens have crowds, and [571]
polis cosmos (many people) are enjoyed by the villagers for their own sake. A [796]
paniyiri or Easter is considered successful in proportion to the number of people

of the dowry. Rents are high and earnings relatively low in cities so that houses 583
are a good investment. However, since building materials must be bought, and 454
contractors paid, in cash, the houses may take many years to build. The young 369
couple may then move into the habitable shell, and the rest of the dwelling will
be completed out of the farmer's then current income. This kind of dowry-on-the-installment-plan 427
becomes part of the marriage contract. It is often a source 434
not only of continuing long-term discussions between a farmer and his town
son-in-law, but also a source of quarrels—what in Greece are called *fasaries*. 606

The rate of movement of farmers' daughters into the towns and cities 578
has been accelerating in the last decade, but marriages to urban husbands are not 369
a new phenomenon. Between 1930 and 1950, at least five of Vasilika's women 166
married "into Athens."

This type of marriage, like those discussed above in which both bride and 581
groom are members of farm families, accelerates land sales and exchanges. The 425
network of association which develops between Vasilika's residents and their
relatives in Athens and the towns, is, however, perhaps the most important consequence 602
of the urban marriages of village women (Friedl 1959a). In addition 574
to the economic reasons for continuing relationships, there are several customary
patterns which increase the frequency of contacts between the two groups. Lonely
village mothers are grateful for visits from their married daughters and their
grandchildren, and the midsummer season not uncommonly finds city women
with their children back in the village visiting their parents, often for as long as
a month or two. A return to one's village for Easter, sometimes for most of the 484
Holy Week as well, is a well-known pattern in Greece. *Paniyiri* in one's *patridha*
(home village) is another occasion for visiting.

Journeys in the opposite direction also occur with some frequency. Village 574
men and women, when ill, may enter hospitals in a town in which they have 602
sons or daughters, or brothers or sisters. Village men visit their town brothers
and bring their children; occasionally a child spends a summer with his town 369
aunt or uncle. Visits to the village or to the town usually last several days. 758
They are made possible by still another congruent pattern of Greek culture.
Neither the villagers nor their town relatives seem to have any strong need for 571
personal privacy. Visiting relatives are bedded down on pallets when there are 513
not enough regular beds, and it is not considered either indecent or especially
uncomfortable for one or even two families to sleep in the same room. It is
through this intervisiting process that so many urban traits of culture are introduced
to the villagers and, indeed, that some village patterns are conserved in
urban areas.

An additional consequence of the town marriages of village girls is that 369
rural wealth derived from land flows into the cities. This wealth is an addition
to what the productivity of land normally contributes to urban centers in the 433
form of food, taxes, and the export of rural produce. A portion of the farmer's 583
profits, through the dowry, is being used, it would seem, directly to support a
part of the urban population. When the dowries are invested in housing or in 471
small commercial enterprises, many low-salaried employees, civil service workers,

369 or economically marginal entrepreneurs find it possible to support themselves
433 and their families in the town and cities. Without the aid of dower wealth, they
583 might not be able to do so.
471

Attitudes Toward the Dowry System

583 Let us now turn from the nature and consequences of the dowry system
562 to a renewed examination of the villagers' attitudes toward the dowry. They unquestionably think of the dowry as a burden. Raising daughters is called
594 *vasana,* a task full of tribulations. The people of the village know that daughters are, in the long run, a net economic loss to the family. They strongly emphasize the burdens of having to give large dowries with daughters, and they rarely mention the size of the dowries sons will receive with their wives. When a girl is born to one of the more prosperous villagers, other men say with
[201] a certain suppressed glee, "*Tha plirosi,*" "He will pay," and they rub the fingers of the right hand against the thumb in a gesture of money payment. But the men who act this way have no corresponding phrase or gesture for what a son will bring in, and dowry inflation is always looked at from the standpoint of what must be paid out. Young prospective bridegrooms tend also to emphasize their roles as contributors to their sisters' dowries, rather than their roles as recipients of their bride's property.

In spite of their lamentations over the burdensomeness of the *prika,* the villagers regard it as a fixed feature of their lives. They invariably express puzzlement in conversations with Americans as to how any people can exist without it. Identifying the dowry with the trousseau, women ask how any girl can set up a household without one. They also ask how a dowerless woman can have any sense of economy, security, or support; how she can guard against the dangers of a shiftless husband.

594 The men say Greece is a poor country, and that therefore young couples
583 need a double source of land or capital to assure the economic welfare of the new family. But at least of equal importance to the men is their feeling that
[593] their own self-respect depends upon the knowledge that they have provided for the future of their daughters—that they have enabled their daughters to "live
594 well." When asked whether girls who did wage labor or who earned money from dressmaking used their earnings for their dowries, the villagers, men and women
434 alike, looked shocked and displeased. They would say no, only fathers or
583 brothers give dowries. Then they would explain that the girl gives her earnings to her father who uses it for the family's living expenses and may, if he wishes,
511 return some to help in the collection of the trousseau, which, as we have seen, the men consider an insignificant part of the dowry. That the girls' earnings enabled the family to save other current income was a concept the villagers neither had a priori, nor understood when it was suggested to them. Neither did the villagers like the suggestion that by working in the fields the daughter of a farmer was contributing to the family's income and, therefore, indirectly to the
000 savings accumulated for her dowry. As we have seen, in the context of farm

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lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his 369
kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57).

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made 114
clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However,
I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for 369
maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a 602
change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other
more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations.

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 369
1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties.
The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its 602
members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different 554
communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore,
it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager [571]
to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result,
not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing
urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers,"
in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct
social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural
peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations
within a family whose members may be distributed through the various
levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications.
The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns
and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin
mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent [571]
any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific.
The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town
may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if
he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From
the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing
that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly
better than no connection at all.

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. 369
The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics
of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the 554
crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon 433
credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation
pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable
wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families,
which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in 000

177 row alleys behind the handsome main streets of the city. Similarly,
184 in the countryside it is still possible to see groups of peasants
369 toiling stoopbacked and patient as they harvest their grain
with sickles, handful by handful, while, perhaps in the next
[243] field, an American combine may be observed noisily at work.

The combines and the glistening apartment buildings of Athens are very new; the donkeys and the sickles are older than recorded history. In a very real sense, the central problem of contemporary Greek life is how to close this gap, and bring the old and the new into a smooth and mutually beneficial interrelationship. Much progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years, but stubborn difficulties remain. It will require at least another generation before these difficulties can be overcome, even if peace and prosperity prevail throughout the coming years.

● 433 Peace and prosperity have seldom visited the Greeks for long,
161 least of all during the twentieth century. Greece was almost
648 continuously at war from 1912 to 1923 and again from 1940 to
1949; and the intervals of peace between these times of crisis were seldom secure. The wealth of the country suffered very severely from both periods of war, but in spite of economic dislocation and widespread destruction of property, the population increased fairly rapidly, from just over 5 million in 1920 (when Greece first attained approximately her present boundaries) to just about 8 million in 1956. Part of this growth was due to natural increase, but about one and a quarter million new inhabitants came to the country between 1922 and 1927, as a result of forcible exchanges of population with Turkey and Bulgaria after the first world war.

563 The effect of these exchanges was to make almost all of the population Greek in speech and sentiment, although two significant minority groups remained: a Slavic "Macedonian" population in the northwest where the borders of Greece, Yugo-

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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slavia and Albania come together, and a Turkish Moslem minority in Thrace. Official figures on the size of these minorities have not been published, but in all probability neither much exceeds 60,000 persons. 563

Greece is a small country, with a total area of slightly more than 50,000 square miles, or just about the size of the state of Illinois. It is also a poor country, lacking in any very important natural resources, short of fuel, but blessed with a magnificent climate similar to that of southern California. The country is very mountainous. Patches of fertile land, none of them very large, are separated from each other by tangles of barren hill and mountain. The main crops are wheat, grapes, olives, cotton and tobacco; and of these tobacco is by all odds the most important for foreign trade, since all the wheat and nearly all the cotton, wine and olive oil are consumed within the country, leaving only a surplus of tobacco, currants and a few other specialized agricultural products for export. 433 ● 13 433 [439] [241]

Industry is comparatively weak. Greek industrial exports have seldom been able to compete in price or quality on world markets. The Greek merchant marine, on the other hand, is one of the important fleets of the world; but many Greek-owned ships are not registered in Greece, and many of the most successful Greek shipowners do not live in the country of their birth. The reason is that Greek taxes on ships and shipowners are heavier than those levied by some other countries, and the shipowners therefore find it expedient to register their ships and take their profits elsewhere. They do, however, often recruit their crews in the home country, and thus offer a source of employment to several thousand Greeks. [505] [651] [464 505]

Greece fought on the Allied side in both the first and second world wars, suffered German and Italian occupation between 1941 and 1944, and became a special British "sphere of influence" in political and military matters during 1944–46. Since 648

648 1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

648 433 Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

114 This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

241 433 [369] [162] [434] [464] [463] The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families comprised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total population of the country in that year. Some of these families supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

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perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers. Indeed, when one 241
realizes that according to this same census the average family 433 ●
farm contained only a little more than 8 acres, and the amount 463
of productive land per head of the rural population totaled just [423]
1.75 acres, it is obvious that there are very few full-time farmers in Greece, if the term is taken to mean persons who busy themselves on the land throughout the year.

Except for a few weeks, when especially intensive work of 461
cultivation or harvesting must be done, Greek peasant farmers 517
enjoy a great deal of leisure, and spend it, characteristically, sitting in the village *cafeneion*, or coffee house, talking, playing 275
backgammon, or just watching the passing scene. A casual observer might mistake such idleness for laziness; yet when tangible gain is to be won by working hard, Greek peasants do not spare themselves. But in practically every village there are far more hands than are needed to do the work of the fields; and when the needful work has been done, sitting in a coffee house
is more entertaining than sitting at home. There a man may [521]
hear the latest gossip of the village, read the Athens newspapers, talk politics, and watch the shadows shift across the village square as the day progresses.

The women, on the other hand, lead a much harder life. 517
Household tasks and the care of children take up most of the 562
hours of the day, and in the seasons when field work is heavy, [462]
women work side by side with the men. For a woman to sit in
a coffee house would be the grossest breach of etiquette, some- [275]
thing quite unthinkable. The village water fountain may serve [576]
as a place for daily gossip; but it is the church which really pro- [521]
vides the village women with a meeting place where they may
on a Sunday morning, after (or even during) the service, talk [794]
and enjoy a few minutes of leisure each week. By a curious and unspoken law, the men of the villages usually do not attend church, save on feast days and other special occasions. Thus

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562 they avoid infringing on the women's meeting place, though not as rigorously as the women avoid the men's coffee house.

184 361 433 438 Nearly all villages conform to these customs, and much else unites them in a common pattern of life. Yet there is a very important distinction to be made between hill villages and villages of the plains. The distinction is not simply one of altitude. Hill villages, by and large, are located in areas so barren that the population cannot raise enough food for its own consumption, whereas plains villages, as would be expected, normally produce a food surplus for sale.

361 241 433 The traveler in Greece, especially if he leaves the main roads behind and explores some of the rough byways of the land, will frequently be surprised to find quite large villages perched in the most improbable places, hiding in some mountain cleft far from any substantial area of cultivable land. Equally surprising is the fact that in some of the broadest and most fertile plains, like that of Thessaly for instance, villages are rather widely separated. Places can be found where cultivated fields extend in all directions yet no house or village can be seen. In such localities, the fields are often tilled by peasants who live miles away in a village nestling in foothills near the margin of the plain.

361 433 The reason for this anomalous distribution of population is largely historical. In Turkish times, if not before, life in the plains was difficult and dangerous. Soldiers and officials, as they passed to and fro, lived off the local inhabitants. Tax and rent collectors, too, were more attentive to the plains dwellers, whose fields might be expected to produce more wealth for the collector to seize upon. These plagues were less serious in the back country, away from the main lines of communication. As a result, humble villagers found it safer to live in the hills, leaving the plains comparatively empty. [464] But there was little food to be found in the uplands, and the Turkish landowners of the plains [166] often needed extra hands to help cultivate their broad acres.

[Village Life]

Hence a sort of symbiosis was established. A large proportion 361
of the able-bodied men of the hill villages descended each year 464
to the plains and worked in the fields of the Turkish landown- 166
ers, then returned to their homes with wages, either in money 433
or in kind, with which to supplement the produce of the tiny fields they had been able to carve from the mountain valleys and slopes around their homes.

Some of the hill villages developed occupational specialties,[1] 361
sending most of their able-bodied men each year to labor as 438
masons or carpenters wherever work was to be found. Groups 464
of villagers sometimes walked as much as a hundred miles to 166
and from the scene of this sort of seasonal employment. Other 433
villages developed what might be called industrial specialties – lime burning, rug weaving, wood carving and the like – and peddled their products far and wide during the summer season. One village even developed an international trade in specially dyed red wool and cloth during the latter years of the eighteenth century, stationing agents in such cities as Vienna, Constantinople and Leipzig. The origins of the modern Greek mer- [505]
chant marine were similar, for sailors were easily recruited
among peasant boys of the islands and coasts, who sought seasonal employment to supplement what could be produced on the family farm.

Another pattern of migration should be mentioned, up into the higher mountain slopes rather than down to the plains. Each summer herds of sheep and goats were sent to pasture on the high ground, where vegetation stayed green through the summer drought, and then returned to lower altitudes when the snows fell. Quite a few hill villages specialized in sheepherding, accompanying their own sheep, and sometimes sheep entrusted to them by others as well, on this annual round.

As long as the hill villages lay between two relatively unpop- 361
ulated geographic regions – the plains beneath and the peaks 166
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[1] [During Turkish times - ANALYST]

[Village Life]

361 above – these complicated arrangements worked well enough.
166 The Greek communities in the hills escaped the full rigor of
464 Turkish oppression, maintained a very considerable degree of
● 433 self-government, and were yet able to make a living by supplementing
what they could produce in the immediate locality
with what they could earn far afield.

361 Two other factors help to explain the concentration of population
[312] in the hills. One was water. Greece is a dry country in
summer, and before modern well-drilling techniques were
known, in many localities it was difficult or impossible to live
[164] the year around in the plains. A second factor was malaria. Until
DDT came to Greece after the second world war, a very
large part of the country was afflicted with chronic malaria. Hill
valleys, where drainage was good, were often free of this disease
when the plains were not.

361 Yet problems of water supply and the risk of malaria were
166 not enough to keep eager Greek settlers from the fat lands of
175 the plains when Turkish political control was withdrawn. On
433 the contrary, as one region after another was liberated, between
1821 and 1913, Turkish landlords and peasants left or were
driven out. Land so vacated was promptly settled by Greeks,
many of whom came down from hill villages, while others came
from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, fleeing the wrath of Turkish
[563] armies. Only in western Thrace was the Turkish peasantry allowed
to remain on the land in return for a guarantee from
Turkey not to disturb the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople
and eastern Thrace.

361 But what would happen when the Turks had been driven
464 from the scene, and the plains had been pre-empted by Greek
166 peasant communities? Clearly, this development, however satisfying
178 to national sentiments, spelled growing hardship for
433 those who remained behind in the ancient hill villages. A landlord
with hundreds or thousands of acres might be eager to hire

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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large numbers of men to help till his ground for him; a peasant 361
farmer, owning thirty or forty acres, needed comparatively little 166
outside help with his crops. Moreover, as the population of the 464
plains villages grew, farms were subdivided, and there was less 178
and less need of outside labor. Thus the old symbiosis between 433
hill and plain was upset as the plains came to be more densely occupied by a peasant farming population. The hillsmen, whose numbers continued to increase, had to seek new outlets.

The major outlet they discovered was emigration overseas, 167
especially to the United States. This was, in a sense, merely a 464
geographic extension of the familiar pattern of going away from 178
home to seek work. Largely for this reason, many of the Greek 433
emigrants who came to this country – mainly between 1900 and 1924 – arrived with no intention of remaining permanently in their new environment. They hoped instead to make enough money to allow them to go back home to their village, and there buy a house and some land in order to live in the traditional style of their forefathers. Many of course stayed, finding the new life overseas more satisfactory than the old one at home; but many thousands acted upon their original plans and returned. As a result, even today when an American arrives in one [191]
of the remoter and more isolated villages of Greece, it is no uncommon thing to be met by some returned migrant who spent the best years of his youth in Chicago or New York, and can produce a few words of broken English to prove it. Richer villages in the plains, on the contrary, seldom sent men overseas. As long as the family enjoyed enough land to be able to live in the simple style to which the Greek peasants were accustomed, there was no compelling motive that would lead a man to undertake such a perilous and expensive venture.

In 1924 the United States established a quota on immigration [648]
which virtually stopped the stream of Greek migration to this country. At about the same time, most of the other countries of

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464 the world that could offer an attractive chance to an impecuni-
167 ous peasant boy also put legal barriers in the way, so that this
178 escape from the deteriorating position of the hill villages of
648 Greece was rather abruptly cut off.

[166] Within Greece, the growth of towns and a modest development of industry, which scarcely antedated the 1920's, offered an escape for a few of the surplus hands that had appeared in the hill villages. But this was by no means adequate to take care of the problem. Not only was the growth of industry and urban occupations comparatively slow, while the rate at which the peasant population grew was high, but even more important, in 1922 and 1923 Greece was compelled to accommodate more than a million refugees from Asia Minor – people who had been uprooted from their homes by the Turks as a consequence of the war between Greece and Turkey which lasted from 1920 to 1922. Many of these refugees had followed urban occupations in Asia Minor, and clustered naturally in the larger cities of Greece, where their skills and entrepreneurial energy frequently opened paths to them which were closed to the ordinary Greek peasant seeking employment away from home.

433 It was therefore not surprising that Greek peasants, especially
464 those cooped up in hill villages, exhibited a growing distress
178 and bafflement during the 1920's and 1930's, since their traditional patterns of life no longer sufficed to bring wonted results.
[458] The world depression of the 1930's hit Greece hard, and con-
[642] tributed to the collapse of parliamentary government in 1936,
when General John Metaxas established a dictatorship. Metaxas
[653] attempted to relieve the economic problems of the country by
[701] launching an ambitious program of public works, especially
[625] road building; and the expansion of the army and gendarmerie
which he carried through also afforded careers to a number of
young men from poor hill villages. But this was palliative rather
000 than cure. When the second world war came, followed by Ital-

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When the Second World War came, followed by Ital-
ian and German occupation and drastic derangement of the na- 433
tional economy, the situation of the hill villages became truly 731
desperate. Starvation visited many of them.

Famine in time of war was age-old; and the response of the [579]
hillsmen of Greece also had very ancient precedent behind it,
for they took gun in hand, and attempted to seize forcibly what
they could no longer gain peaceably from the plains. They 726
formed the backbone of the wartime ~~resistance forces~~, and justi- 669
fied their violence by patriotism, quite in the spirit their fore-
fathers had shown in attacking the Turks. Yet the resistance 433
movement was not merely a reassertion of old patterns. Its lead- [668]
ership was mainly provided by Communists, who in earlier
years had been a small and not very significant group, largely
confined to the towns.[1]

In the wartime resistance movement the inhabitants of the hill villages found a sort of economic relief, inasmuch as the guerrilla bands lived by raiding the plains, taking by force a part of the agricultural surplus of those regions in order to feed themselves. A young man, without any real occupation in his native village, and without any hope of a career at home which could satisfy even the traditionally low level of expectation among the hillsmen, could, by joining a guerrilla band, hope to feed himself and relieve his family of the burden of his presence. In addition, he could become a hero, fighting for freedom and liberty, social justice and a better life for all.

For most peasant boys, the ulterior aims of their Communist 669
leaders meant little or nothing. Indeed, the Communists were
at very considerable pains to play down any plans they had for
social revolution, and welcomed persons of widely differing so-
cial views into the ranks of the resistance. This was, of course,

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[1] There were a number of non-Communist resistance bands also, but most of them did not last long, and the successful ones were confined to Epirus, in the northwest.

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669 thoroughly in harmony with the "popular front" tactics inculcated
[648] by international Communist policy. When British intervention
in 1944 prevented the resistance forces from seizing
power in Greece, the rank and file of those who had supported
the Communists during the war had little reason to distrust
their leaders, since the Communists had not had time or opportunity
to carry through the revolution they hoped for.

669 As a result, when in 1946 international Communist policy
433 again mobilized the energies of the Greek Communist party to
begin a new guerrilla war, Communist organizers found little difficulty in winning the sympathy and support of the same social groups that had participated in the wartime resistance movement. The hill villages were prepared to send their young men into the guerrilla ranks for the same reasons as before. Liberation had not brought prosperity, and without prosperity in the cities and plains, life in the hills was very hard. Hence the Communists found it easy to create guerrilla bands in all the mountainous regions of the country.

In the most obvious sense, both of these recent guerrilla
movements failed. Their leaders were killed or driven from the
country, and the government remained in other hands. Yet in
[208] another sense, it must be recognized that the imprint of the two
guerrilla enterprises upon the attitudes of the hill villages of
Greece has been deep, and seems likely to last a long time.

Basically, what the Communists achieved was to convince nearly everyone in the villages that the traditional way of living was no longer even to be wished for and striven after. Instead, they held out fascinating and quite unrealizable dreams of bathtubs and electric refrigerators for all. Or rather, they held this out as an ultimate goal, and offered in the more immediate future a life of activity, violence and dedication – a life that at least seemed to have significance and purpose and hope. These were just what the average young man or woman

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in the hill villages (and in only slightly less degree the other 669 young people of Greece also) lacked, yet desperately needed in 433 order to confront the daily hardships and disappointments of private life. Here, I think, lay and continues to lie the secret of Communist influence in Greece. It was not so much the ultimate vision of wealth and ease and justice – Greek peasants are quite sophisticated enough to distrust such glittering baubles – but the mobilization of energies in the here and now to form a purposeful movement, surcharged with hope and optimism, that attracted the allegiance of so many restless young people.

At the least it seems correct to say that the guerrilla movements, with their attendant propaganda and real life experi- [208] ences, created a population more or less chronically open to fresh revolutionary winds, from whatever direction they may blow. Even when jobs on roads and other sorts of construction opened up again in the 1950's, so that something resembling the old symbiosis of hill and plains could be resumed, the changed attitudes among the hillsmen remained quite obvious. Greece will have, for some considerable time to come, a sub- [668] stantial group of its population that is peculiarly receptive to movements of political dissent or outright revolution.

The real, physical problems presented by too many mouths and too little land have not been solved, and cannot be solved quickly by anything short of wholesale depopulation. But the tradition-bound attitudes which once made this precarious life seem inevitable, even if not right, have been profoundly eroded. Clearly, this is a dangerous and potentially explosive situation. What happens in the hill villages is likely to constitute the critical factor in the future political history of Greece.

The situation in the plains was different. Guerrilla bands seemed suspiciously like robbers, or at best like tax collectors, to the peasants of the plains villages from whom they demanded food. Comparatively few young men left such villages to join

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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the guerrillas, even in the south, where landless families existed in many plains communities. The hard times that drove the hillsmen from home, gun in hand, impelled the plainsmen to stay home where there was food. More recently, the revival and improvement of agriculture naturally proceeded furthest and fastest in regions where the soil was reasonably fertile and abundant. Hence, the plains villagers have been able to achieve far better results than the hillsmen from technical and marketing changes. They have property and social status to defend, and know quite enough about Communist agrarian policy in neighboring countries to distrust beguiling words from Communist lips.

The farmers of the plains are therefore not revolutionary, even though they may grumble about present hardship, and envy others better off than themselves. They have seen quite enough of the violence and suffering which revolutions, or attempted revolutions, involve. The hillsmen, too, have suffered, and do not love violence for its own sake. But, unless I am much mistaken, they remain potential revolutionaries.

Town Life

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Just as the combine and the sickle join in uneasy partnership to harvest the wheat fields of Greece, so also in the towns an age-old style of life is set side by side with a few completely up-to-date factories and the most modern urban amenities. The juxtaposition in an urban context is no less awkward than in the country.

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Particularly in the north, where Turkish times are still within living memory, in towns like Jannina or Kozani, one can see streets where artisans pursue their trades in little shops just as their predecessors have done for centuries. The old medieval principle still holds, whereby shops dealing in the same goods

cally disaffected class, there emerges a formidable grouping 578
of unstable and potentially revolutionary elements in present- 669
day Greek society. The more conservative groups – farmers of [178]
the plains villages, shopkeepers, traders and property owners in
the towns, and the handful of rich shipowners and other large capitalists – certainly outweigh the dissidents in normal times. But times have seldom been normal in recent Greek history, and the balance of forces has not uniformly inclined in favor of the established social order.

Public Life in 1947

The winter and spring of 1946–47 were months when the bal- 669
ance turned strongly against conservatism. As a matter of fact, Greece seemed then to teeter on the verge of Communist revolution. The Greek Communist party, acting in concert with the Communist governments and parties of neighboring countries to the north, and with the approval or perhaps under the instructions of the Russians, began to raise guerrilla bands in the mountains of Greece in the summer of 1946. Organizers met with rather quick response in many hill villages, where the young men and boys were stewing in their discontent and welcomed the high hopes held out to them by Communist prom-
ises. The national army was quite unable to check the spread of [703]
the guerrilla movement. For one thing, morale was uncertain. Many soldiers felt strong distaste for fighting fellow Greeks. When sallies were made from strong points which the army had constructed, the guerrillas simply melted away, only to reappear a few days later somewhere else, soon to return to the same district as before.

The morale of the government was equally uncertain. Com- 669
munist lands were very near; Britain was embarrassed by finan- 648
cial difficulties; the United States was far away. No one was 433

[Public Life in 1947]

669 648 433 sure that aid would come, or if it came that it would arrive soon enough and in large enough quantity to turn the tide. Yet foreign aid was clearly needed if the Communist guerrillas were to be stopped. Without it, the government could scarcely hope to maintain its army for long. More than that, the fabric of the civil economy could not stand by itself, especially when guerrilla raids and road mines made transport and communication unsafe.

727 648 Apart from the military and diplomatic aspects, there was another and more fundamental sense in which the morale of the government and of the conservative classes was damaged. The general ideas and presuppositions of the non-Communist politicians and their supporters were badly shaken by the course of events in the immediate postwar period. Their general assumption had been that once the Germans had withdrawn and a transition period of special emergency had been passed through, then the society and economy of Greece would return of themselves to something like stability and the prewar pattern. Yet now the Germans had departed, UNRRA had come and gone (save for a small rear guard), and still there was no stability and no security. Far less was there any prospect of prosperity.

[661] The upheaval of the war years had in fact been too drastic to permit any automatic return to normal. But the political leaders of the country, all of whom had grown up in a world where government economic policy and administration were conceived in terms of doing favors for one's friends and withholding them from one's opponents, had no idea how to cope with the disturbed and unhappy society entrusted to their guidance. No idea, that is, except to ask for help from Britain or the United States.

[665] The politicians could scarcely be accused of not having done their part to bring things back to normal. During the brief res-

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pite between the time when British troops had suppressed the 727
wartime guerrilla army in December 1944, and the resumption 665
of the guerrilla war in the summer of 1946, the politicians re- 648
sumed the prewar game of politics with an exemplary faithfulness to old customs and methods. Two of the principal figures of Greek politics, Sophocles Venizelos and Constantine Tsaldaris, carried family names that had been illustrious in the twenties and thirties, and owed their leadership more to their names than to any personal attributes. Quarrels between royalists and republicans, which dated back to the first world war, remained the principal line of demarcation between rival groups of politicians; and demands for territorial expansion at the expense of the defeated powers – primarily Bulgaria – remained a major stock-in-trade of political oratory, and the best antidote the political leaders could find for the discontent and unrest of the nation. This, after all, had been the dominant theme in the career of the great Eleftherios Venizelos, who had almost doubled Greek territory between 1912 and 1919, and even for a dizzy moment seemed to have the old Byzantine capital of Constantinople within his grasp. And how could any politician hope to improve on Venizelist models?

Fame and fortune had always been the stuff and substance of 665
a political career; special favors to friends and supporters had 661
always been the means by which power was sustained; parties had always been fragile coalitions of ambitious public men who combined for a longer or shorter time under the leadership of one of their number, only to scatter and re-form in some new constellation when the restless striving for place and position dictated a change.

To be sure, even before the war, extensive social legislation 727
had been enacted, and the idea that the government was some- 661
how responsible for maintaining the welfare of the population 433
at large was not unknown. But such measures were conceived

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727 primarily as electoral maneuvers, aimed to win votes, rather
661 than as aspects of any general social policy. A managed econ-
433 omy, or even a semi-managed economy, in which government decisions influenced the flow and volume of investment, regulated the supply of money, and adjusted the share of the national income to be enjoyed by different groups in the population was scarcely within the purview of the old-style politicians. Once again, this was not because the government had not intervened repeatedly and with telling effect in the economic life of the country. It had, but usually in the spirit of helping political or personal friends and thwarting foes.

Yet in spite of the faithful and unimaginative efforts of the political cosmos (the name Greeks give to the small number of men who play leading roles in political life) to return to a comfortable prewar pattern of behavior, the country ungratefully failed to follow suit. The times remained desperately out of joint, but knowing no way to set them right, the conservative politicians and their supporters were in a quandary. Their morale was destroyed by the lack of any clearly defined and firmly felt purpose and program, quite as much as by the diplomatic and material difficulties they confronted. Among the men of the right, apathy and hopelessness alternated with sporadic anti-Communist and extra-legal violence; but neither the one nor the other seemed to do anything but make the situation worse.

665 The Greek Communist party was not without its own internal
727 difficulties, but by comparison with the old-style politicians the Communists had tremendous advantages. First and foremost, they commanded a disciplined, enthusiastic and energetic body of committed followers, men who could be counted upon to follow instructions and who were willing to undergo personal hardship in the service of their dream for the future. Beyond this, the Communists enjoyed the sympathy or admiration of a

[Public Life in 1947]

647 661 tions with higher authority, promote their own careers, and enjoy the amenities of Athenian existence. But in the meantime much that should have been done remained undone.

Senior officials and ministers were harrassed by incredible numbers of papers requiring their signature or countersignature; they were harrassed even more by the crowds of petitioners who stood outside every door and not infrequently pushed their way inside to watch for a chance to seize the great man's attention. Subordinates, on the other hand, seldom would or could take any initiative themselves, but referred everything to higher authority, where the papers added to the jam at the top.

185 727 647 433 Perhaps the greatest weakness of the whole system was that officialdom shared the intellectual and technical deficiencies of the politicians. In the general confusion and pressure of daily business, no one had time or opportunity to try to think in long terms, measure the economic and other needs of the country, and attempt to establish some sort of priority among them, so that a beginning, however modest, could be made toward repairing some of the disbalances and defects of Greek society. Perhaps the magnitude of the problems and the sheer inadequacy of Greek resources to cope with most of them made such calculations impracticable. But it was also true that the officials of the Greek government were not accustomed to thinking in such terms, and tended to assume that problems of this nature should be left to solve themselves by the spontaneous action of private citizens, within the framework of traditional patterns of living. In proportion as the physical and psychological basis of such a traditional framework had been destroyed by the war, this assumption was no longer valid; but few, indeed, in the turmoil of the civil administration realized this fact, and fewer were ready, intellectually or morally, to try to move into the gaps thus created in the social structure, and attempt to put the scattered fragments back into some sort of working order.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Under the circumstances, then, nothing like an efficient administration confronted the Communist challenge. Private citizens, who were unable to get satisfaction from officials, even when they knew their claims were right and just, were not encouraged to feel any special loyalty to the regime; and a government which was able to do so little to remedy the general disorganization of economic and social life gave color to the Communists' claim that they and they alone could solve the country's problems. 647 727 433

There were, nevertheless, some persons who were attempting to devise plans for the economic and social stabilization of the country. Some held government positions, some were unemployed or semi-employed engineers and the like. Perhaps the most influential circle was that associated with the UNRRA Mission to Greece, which, in addition to delivering relief supplies to the country, had attempted to rehabilitate the nation as well. The time and the funds allocated to UNRRA proved grossly inadequate to rehabilitate Greece, but studies and plans made by UNRRA, to discover what could and should be done to put the country back on its feet, had at least the virtue of turning some men's minds to the long-term problem. Some of these plans, and some of the personnel that helped draw them up, later played a part in the United States aid program. 185 727 433 648

Apart from this historical connection, one can say that even in the darkest days of 1947, when Communist victory seemed far from improbable, there did exist on the fringes of Greek official life a small number of persons who had begun to think in terms that might effectively meet the Communist challenge. Planners and statisticians, engineers and economists – men who conceived the task of the government to include efforts to shape economic and social development in such a fashion as to relieve the poverty of the nation – did exist. They were, however, far removed from the real centers of power and authority in the 185 727 433 669

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government. Unassisted, they would certainly not have been able to do anything effective to overcome the Communist menace. 185 727 433● 669

To sum up: The nature of Greek society and the shortcomings of the Greek government, together with the constellation of international relations in 1946 and 1947, made Communist revolution possible, indeed probable. But the injection of a massive new force, United States aid, changed the direction of events and prevented that consummation. The activity of the American aid missions will therefore be the subject of the next chapter. [648]

[PP. 33-84 not Processed]

CHAPTER 3

THE VILLAGES

Since most of the people of Greece still live in villages, peas- 369
ant life constitutes something of a base level for Greek society. 433 ●
Pressure of population is felt first and most acutely in the vil- 178*
lages. Peasant boys from land-hungry villages are driven to [464]
seek a livelihood in the towns, thus creating a pool of unskilled
but eager labor which deeply affects the conditions of life
among the urban working classes. Moreover, agricultural prod-
ucts are the country's major items of export. What happens in
the villages therefore fixes limits upon the general prosperity
and social stability of the entire national community. It follows
that the best criterion by which to measure the impact of Amer-

369 ican aid programs on Greek society is to examine what has been
● 433 accomplished in a few typical villages, for only after the agrar-
* 178 ian problems of the nation have been somewhat relieved can
there be much expectation of enriching or improving urban conditions.

621 Two general dividing lines separate the villages of Greece.
184 By far the most important is the contrast, explained in Chapter
433 1, between hill and plain, that is, between food-deficit and food-
surplus rural communities. A second general distinction is be-
423 tween those villages that underwent radical redistribution of
× 178 land after World War I, and those where patterns of landown-
ership have evolved piecemeal and privately without any massive governmental intervention. Generally, villages of the first type lie in the plains of the north, while all hill villages, and plains villages south of Thessaly, fall into the second category. In view of these important differences, it is necessary to study at least one village from each of these groupings.

621 Another point of distinction is the degree to which traditional
184 patterns of village life underwent change during the past ten
× 178 years. Some villages, whether by accident or thanks to intelli-
gent and energetic leadership within the village, were able to undertake quite radical changes and profited very greatly from new techniques of agriculture. Others stayed generally within traditional frames. Still others were able to make only halfway satisfactory changes in old customs and techniques. It seems wise to try to illustrate different degrees of adjustment and improvement, first among plains villages, then among hill villages; and in each case to begin with an example of slight change and conclude with an example of maximally successful adjustment.

621 Before turning to an account of what particular villages have
631 done, however, it might be well to say something about village
578 leadership, and the relations between villagers and officials of
the national government. Until 1951, the villages (and larger

Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

621 penetrated so far into the heart of the Thessalian plain, the vil-
x178 lagers saw nothing of them at first hand. Life went on smoothly,
[669] and the market for wheat was good. In general, then, the tenor
of life in Lofiscos is a thoroughly conservative one. In 1920 the
villagers attained their hearts' desire – possession of the land;
and since then nothing has happened to make them wish to
change the way they live.

x178 The general conservatism of the village is reflected in the
241 caution with which the farmers have taken up new techniques
433 and ideas. There was no pressing economic necessity to impel
them to experiment. Familiar methods and crops did well
enough. Yet there are at present real signs of technical change.
[652] In 1952 fertilizer came in for the first time. Up till then no one
in the village had used it. In that year, a representative of the
Agricultural Bank visited the village, and urged the farmers to
[243] buy fertilizer on credit. A few of them made the experiment;
the results they achieved convinced all the rest, for with fer-
tilizer the wheat crop was nearly twice what had been usual
before. Every farmer is now using fertilizer, and the net pro-
duction of the fields is rising accordingly.

[652] Then in 1956 a single farmer, more venturesome than his fel-
[406] lows, contracted a five-year loan with the Agricultural Bank in
order to install a well and pump with which to irrigate four
[312] acres. This represented a far greater departure from custom
than the use of fertilizer. Wheat does not need irrigation in
Thessaly, and to repay the cost of the well and pump new crops
[248] had to be introduced. Cotton was the answer, and the results
in 1956, when I visited the village, were already so promising
that several other farmers were planning to install a well-pump
irrigation system in their fields, and grow cotton the next year.
By doing so they can multiply their cash yield per acre several
times as compared to the traditional income from wheat farm-
ing. This prospect is all the farmers need to persuade them to
go ahead.

Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be 178x
sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 652
was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as 241
a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the
peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror.
Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred
a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from
the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices
were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibil-
ity. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per [453]
cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat
was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of [435]
fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, [654]
a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he
stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in
1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them
that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was
not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to
greater income.

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can re- 433
call, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the vil- 511
lage has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 454
1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products
as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoard- 556
ing to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new 178x
house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the [438]
attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was
a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed
poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This
attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even
after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a land-
lord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers:
hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of 178x
241
433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

x178 241 433 life in Lofiscos dates only from 1952, it cannot be surprising to find that as yet little has altered outwardly. But since the village has been attuned to a market economy for generations, and since changes that increase income without involving more than the normal risks of farming meet with little resistance in the village, it seems entirely probable that in the future more and more substantial changes will come to Lofiscos. In 1956 there was still much that could be done to increase the intensity of farming and to enlarge the cash income of the farmers. [312] Well irrigation is easy, because the water table lies close to the surface; and with such irrigation, a wide variety of hitherto untried crops will become possible: vegetables, fruit, fodder, in addition to cotton. The basis for a highly productive and diversified farming may thus appear in a relatively short period of time. Moreover, it would not be difficult or very expensive to build drainage works in the portion of the village lands that flood each spring, thus bringing some or all of that land into cultivation.

Two obstacles stand in the path of any such program of development in Lofiscos. One is the general inertia and conservatism of the farmers, who will have to learn a good deal about new crops and farming methods, and may also find themselves working a good deal more steadily through the year than was necessary when nearly all their land was still in wheat. Yet the means and incentive to overcome this difficulty both seemed to be present in 1956. Agricultural extension agents and the Agricultural Bank stand ready to give expert advice and instruction; and some of the farmers of Losfiscos have shown an eagerness to enrich themselves thereby.

The second problem is more complicated. If the farmers begin to exploit the possibilities of their land more fully, the village will very soon find itself short of labor, for the existing inhabitants are too few to attend to all the chores of high farming

6: McNeill H-5 (1947,1956) 1957

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Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

on so much land. Purchase of machinery, like that used on American farms, would be one way to solve this difficulty; hiring labor from outside the village would be another, and more probable, course. It is conceivable, however, that the villagers of Lofiscos may hesitate about bringing in strangers to work for them. There is a considerable feeling of clannishness among the villagers, a clannishness perhaps reflecting their knowledge that they are far, far better off than the great majority of their fellows, and a desire to keep what they know to be a good thing strictly to themselves. It will not be surprising if, a few years from now, reluctance to hire outside labor begins to hold back the development of more intensive farming in Lofiscos. But if and when the farmers do begin to offer jobs to poor men from the hills, some of the communities that have hitherto seen little benefit from the rising prosperity of villages like Lofiscos will begin to share at least a little in the economic advance of the plains. 178x 241 433 [609 621]

All these possibilities lie in the future. In 1956 the village was supplying all its own labor and was just beginning to alter traditional ways. Few villages in Greece are so comfortably situated, and fewer still have such possibilities for further enrichment.

NEA ELEFTHEROHORI

Nea Eleftherohori lies at the foot of Mount Olympus, facing the Thermaic Gulf, about twenty miles north of Katerini, the local market center and regional metropolis. The name means New Free Village, and is a reminder of the fact that there is an older "Free Village" perched high on the slopes of Olympus. In Turkish times, which lasted in this region until 1912, the men of the older Eleftherohori engaged in a little farming but for the most part depended for their living on the sale of firewood and on summer work as carpenters. 361 621 [434]

Nea Eleftherohori

[Villages of the Plains]

423 425 combined into one holding. The great majority of the families of the village, however, still occupied 27 or 32 stremmata in 1956, and most of the original holders of the allotments were still alive.

x178 621 241 433 The land settlement in Nea Eleftherohori differed from that in Lofiscos in two respects. First, the farms in Nea Eleftherohori were less than one fifth as large as in Lofiscos. Second, the new settlers, uprooted from their former homes, whether up the mountain or in distant Asia Minor, left binding customary ways of life behind them, and started off in Nea Eleftherohori without the automatic conservatism and suspicion of innovation typical until very recently of the families of Lofiscos. These differences acted together to make the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori a good deal more willing to try new crops and methods, even before the war, than those in the older Thessalian community. Life on so little land was difficult at best, and anything that promised to bring in a little more seemed worth trying; and when the problems of farming the land were new in any event, there was far less psychological resistance against trying some further innovation.

621 163 433 Another contrast with Lofiscos, a contrast perhaps related to the general shake-up of old customary routines which came to the inhabitants of Nea Eleftherohori between 1912 and 1923, is that the new settlers proceeded to procreate children at a far greater rate than occurs in Lofiscos, where families are mostly quite small.[2]

[2] It would be very interesting to know why the prosperous peasants of Lofiscos have fewer children than their much poorer fellows in Nea Eleftherohori, but I do not know Lofiscos well enough to hazard an opinion. Can it be that the general market orientation of their agriculture and the habit of calculating in monetary terms leads them to restrict the number of their children deliberately, in some fashion or other, realizing that to divide the family farm among many children spells impoverishment for

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Nea Eleftherohori

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The smallness of the original farms and the large size of most families in Nea Eleftherohori began, even in the late 1930's, to present the villagers with a very serious problem. What were their children going to do? To divide the land was a desperate solution, inasmuch as the farms were already near the minimum that a single family could subsist upon. Somehow or other, all but one son had to be freed from the land, find some other form of livelihood, and leave the entire farm to be inherited by one brother. Hopeless poverty if not outright hunger was the certain lot of everyone who stayed on a divided inheritance.[3] 428 423

Nea Eleftherohori has been less fortunate than Lofiscos in still another respect. Situated at the foot of Mount Olympus, it lay just on the edge of the territory that guerrilla bands controlled in 1943–45 and again in 1947–49. These were, therefore, years of intense political insecurity in the village, and some loss of life. In 1947 the guerrillas organized a raid upon Nea Elef- 621 669 578

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the new generation? If so, why not in Nea Eleftherohori? To be sure, that village pursued a more nearly subsistence style of agriculture between the wars; but this fact by itself does not seem enough to explain the contrast. Perhaps the prevalence of early marriages in Nea Eleftherohori, consequent upon the mode of land distribution in 1927, accounts for the difference, early marriages naturally bringing larger families; or perhaps some recklessness engendered by the catastrophic upheaval which the Asia Minor refugee population underwent encouraged large families, for there is in Nea Eleftherohori, as in all of Greece, a noticeable differential in birth rate between refugee and "old settler" groups, with the refugees standing higher. 621 163 433 ● [563]

[3] In legal form, the Greek government retained title to all the land distributed to refugees and squatters after World War I. Part of the original justification for this policy was that it would permit the government to prevent excessive subdivision of peasant farms; and it was still the case in 1956 that legal tenure of each allotment was lodged in a single family head. This, however, did not prevent some families from dividing the allotments in practice among the heirs. Yet the fact that such divisions could not be legalized may perhaps have reinforced the reluctance of the families of Nea Eleftherohori to make them. [656]

ers of the village since a son of one of them had been caught 621
and killed in a guerrilla ambush near the village during the war, 669
inaugurated a new era in Nea Eleftherohori. Everyone felt re- 578
lieved that old feuds were not to be pursued, and made haste
to forget the quarrels that had so long divided the village.

More important, or at least more promising for the long run, 178x
was that after 1950 the villagers began to see some hope of a 873
solution to their long-range difficulties. This hope was based
on two innovations. They began to send nearly all their younger
sons to secondary school, hoping thereby to qualify them for
jobs in town, away from the land. And they began to intensify [241]
their farming and to increase their cash income by raising mar- [434]
ket crops on a far greater scale than before.

The path to higher education was greatly facilitated by the
proximity of a gymnasium (i.e., a "classical" high school), lo-
cated in a large village about ten miles away. A bus service was [494]
instituted between Nea Eleftherohori and the school, enabling
boys from the village to attend classes and still live at home.
Since there were no tuition fees, secondary school education be- [511]
came comparatively cheap; though even so, the cost of books
and other supplies was, for many families, a serious matter. By
1956 no fewer than thirty-six boys from Nea Eleftherohori were
attending the gymnasium. This number included almost every
boy of appropriate age who had an elder brother, that is, almost
every boy who would not inherit a farm. Roughly one third of
all the families of the village had a boy in the gymnasium.

Since 1950, a number of changes in farming methods have 178x
also occurred. The first was the use of fertilizer. A few farmers 241
had experimented with it before the war, but it cost so much 433
that they found that in a year of bad or only middling weather
they could not make enough on the extra yield of their fields to
pay off the debt incurred to buy it. Hence use of fertilizer was
abandoned, to be resumed only in 1950. By 1956 "everybody"

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Nea Eleftherohori

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By 1956 "everybody"

x178 was using fertilizer, and yields of wheat (the principal crop
241 for which fertilizer was needed) had increased to between 125
● 433 and 180 okes per stremma, as against the former range of 60
[243] to 80, depending of course on weather and variations in the quality of the land.

Even before the war, the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori had shown themselves willing to try new crops. Thus in 1947 there were modest acreages in legumes, cotton and tobacco as well as
x178 some vegetables. Only tobacco did well, since there was no
249 irrigation; but government regulations forbade extension of to-
433 bacco acreage, in order to maintain prices. By 1956 this restric-
[656] tion had been removed for the district in which Nea Eleftherohori is situated, and the farmers promptly began to increase
[435] their tobacco planting. In 1947 there had been a total of 52 stremmata in tobacco; in 1955 there were 480, and in 1956 no less than 898. Tobacco has in fact become the main labor-consuming crop, and it has also become the all-important cash crop
[434] for the village. Money income has multiplied several times over with the spread of tobacco cultivation, for earlier, when wheat,
[241] raised without benefit of fertilizer, was the main crop, there was often very little left to sell after the families had supplied their own food needs.

x178 A second major departure occurred in 1956. With the help
241 of a bank loan, the village planted an olive grove on 900 strem-
464 mata of rough pasture. It will take ten years for the new trees to come into full production; but when they do, Nea Elefthero-
[245] hori will have a new and valuable crop, with the special virtue
[452] of requiring labor at a season of the year when other agricultural operations are more or less at a standstill. By combining grain farming (requiring labor in the early fall for planting and in the late spring for the harvest) with tobacco raising (requiring intensive labor in the early spring and for about two months in the late summer when the leaves must be picked daily and

Nea Eleftherohori

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strung up to dry) and olives (harvested in the late fall and the 178×
early winter), the village will be able to distribute its labor 241
over nearly the entire round of the year, and minimize the long [464]
seasonal idleness which was characteristic of its older grain-centered type of agriculture.

Another way of describing what has happened in Nea Eleftherohori [433] is to say that during the past five or six years commercial agriculture has largely supplanted a primarily subsistence type of agriculture. Related to this development is a very 178×
great change in the appearance of the village and of its inhabit- 511
ants. Increased money income, deriving from tobacco, has 356
been spent, in part, for city-type clothes, which every self-respecting villager has by now acquired. In part, too, money has [291]
been used to fix up the houses, which now appear very clean and tidy. Almost all have been freshly painted or whitewashed,
and several families have fenced in tidy yards where a vine [351]
trellis gives shade from the sun. On the surface, Nea Eleftherohori appears far more prosperous than Lofiscos. Apparently, a fairly high level of housekeeping has become standard in Nea Eleftherohori, and a great effort is made by almost everyone to present a good front to the neighbors.

The refugees from Asia Minor constitute a partial exception [563]
to this rule. Their houses are somewhat shabbier, their dress perceptibly poorer. The old settlers look down upon them as careless farmers and poor housekeepers. The differences are not really great, but the desire to keep ahead of the refugees has probably acted as an important spur to laggard or lazy members of the old settler group, forcing them to improve their homes and to dress better than they might otherwise have done.

Indeed, if I understood the spirit of the village correctly, the 178×
desire to maintain a status and keep a respectable front to the 511
world has become the overriding aim of the whole community. 582
One very important consequence is the postponement of mar-

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x178 582 583 of older peasant customs. The dowry has always been a part of marriage customs in Greece, but it used to be relatively small and easily within the means of the average family. Moreover, not to marry off one's daughters at a rather early age – before twenty-two or so – was regarded as a disgrace. It was felt that something must be wrong, either with the girl or with her parents; that she was running a grave risk of immorality and consequent loss of reputation; and that the parents were delinquent in their duty if they failed to marry her off in the bloom of her youth. Because the new customs run contrary to these older attitudes, a very special tension exists among the farmers of Nea Eleftherohori. They feel it is wrong that their young people cannot marry when they should; they feel even more strongly that marriages must wait until the means of livelihood are assured. This requires the new dowry and land inheritance pattern. But no one is happy with the way the system has worked out, particularly the young people themselves, who see a long and dreary time of waiting ahead before they can hope to start families of their own.

x178 369 This discontent is compounded by the feeling, which seems very strong in the village, that people in the towns have the best of everything: less work, more income; less boredom, more excitement. City standards of dress and manners have made extraordinary inroads in recent years, and aspiration toward a more comfortable and less laborious life is very strong.

x178 621 669 433 Consequently, although by economic criteria the village is very much better off than before, and although the political tensions within the village have sunk back into insignificance, discontent is much alive and near the surface. It no longer takes political form as it did during and immediately after the war, when the Communists appealed to, and found a response among, many of the young people. As long as the majority of families in the village continue to see a path by which they

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may expect to maintain or modestly increase the standard of 178^x
living they have enjoyed hitherto, it is likely that discontent 621
will remain personal and private. As yet, hard work, saving and 669
waiting seem to promise a solution; and with such hope present 433
discontents seem bearable. But if some day the hopes turn out to have been in vain, then one may expect to see an active movement of political dissent and revolt appear in Nea Eleftherohori once more.

As compared with Lofiscos, therefore, Nea Eleftherohori is 178^x
a good deal farther along the path toward a new social and psy- 621
chological adjustment of village life. The less spacious eco- 433
nomic base from which Nea Eleftherohori started compelled 369
an earlier and more energetic adoption of new agricultural tech- 241
niques; the old-fashioned frame in which the peasant family and community flourished from time immemorial has largely been transformed or discarded; and city standards have come in, not so much in fact as in aspiration.

PALEO CORINTHOS

Paleo Corinthos, or Old Corinth, stands on the site of the an- 621
cient city, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and Saronic [361]
gulfs. The imposing mass of Acrocorinth, crowned by extensive [172]
and well-preserved Venetian fortifications, dominates the village, whereas the ruins from classical times are comparatively inconspicuous. The modern town of Corinth lies on the shore some five miles off, and has taken over the commercial functions once centered in the ancient city. Until very recently, Old Corinth remained the mere village it had been in Turkish times.

It is, however, a much larger village than either Lofiscos or [162]
Nea Eleftherohori. Its population was officially reckoned to be
1,530 in 1947; by 1956 the figure had grown to 1,850. This
growth was only partly due to natural increase, for the village [166]

[Villages of the Plains]

621 166 had acquired sixty "heads of family," mostly migrants from hill villages in the neighborhood, during the years between 1950 and 1956. Some of these immigrants brought families with them, others married into the village, but exact figures of the number of persons who have moved into the village are not available.

Nevertheless, Old Corinth definitely exhibits the pattern of internal migration which may in time allow the hillsmen of Greece to share in the rising prosperity of the villages of the plains, for migration into the community from the hills has been in part offset by another current of migration from Old Corinth into larger urban centers – either to nearby New Corinth or to Athens, some seventy miles off. Thirty-five to forty persons moved away to these centers between 1947 and 1956, according to the village president.

245 439 The reason for this mobility is that Old Corinth has become prosperous as never before. For centuries the agriculture of the community has centered upon currants; and since the seventeenth century the major market for this crop has been in England. Commercial agriculture is therefore no novelty, but the prosperity of the village has long been heavily at the mercy of the English market, and, more recently, access to this market has depended largely upon the Australian currant crop. To cultivate, pick, dry and sort currants is a labor-consuming task; and the Australian labor shortage in the postwar years proved a remarkable blessing for Corinth. Since 1954, when devaluation of the drachma cleared the way for export, currant prices have been good. [436]

241 474 433 ×178 This is only a small part of Corinth's good fortune. Owing largely to unusually wise and energetic leadership on the part of the village president, who has enjoyed a unique standing in the community, the two cooperatives which were organized before the war and were bankrupted during it were re-established by 1952.

[Villages of the Plains]

lished by 1952. Through their instrumentality a series of important 241
changes have come to the agriculture of the village. 474
Fertilizer, bought through the cooperatives, has played its usual 433 ●
role in increasing wheat yields. In addition, a new variety of 178^{x}
wheat has been introduced by the agricultural extension agent;
this has still further increased the harvest, so that in 1956 the [242]
farmers counted on between 200 and 300 okes of wheat per
stremma, compared with their prewar expectation of 80 to 100.
The co-ops also have been able to buy two tractors and two [407]
harvesting machines that cultivate all the crop land of the community.
These machines are hired out to neighboring villages [427]
when not needed in Old Corinth, and bring in a fair sum of
money.

The most significant step, however, has been the drilling of 178^{x}
irrigation wells. Irrigation began on a modest scale before the 312
war, but in 1947 fuel for the pumping engines was hard to 241
come by and many of the thirty wells the village then possessed 406
were not used fully. By 1956 the number of wells and pumps 433
had increased to 163, and all were in full use. Most of the suitable
land in the village has come under irrigation. On this land, [438]
the villagers raise garden vegetables, especially tomatoes, and
despatch them daily to the Athens market by truck. The result, [434]
in terms of money income, is spectacular. I was assured that a
farm now yields ten times the income it supplied before the
war.

Old Corinth has also benefited from the revival of tourism. 178^{x}
In 1955, some 72,000 tourists visited the archaeological museum [457]
and the ruins on the outskirts of the village; and most of these [265]
visitors left at least some small change behind them in one of
the coffee houses or in the new tourist restaurant which the [346]
government constructed in 1955. Moreover, Old Corinth lies
near the new electric power line. Electricity came to the village [365]
for the first time in 1956. Of all the changes benefiting them in

Paleo Corinthos

[Villages of the Plains]

621
×178 face life on a smaller piece of land; but this problem does not
seem especially acute to the larger farmers. An interesting in-
[428] dicator of this fact is that in 1956 only thirty boys from the vil-
[873] lage attended the gymnasium in New Corinth close by—a
smaller number than Nea Eleftherohori was sending to a considerably more distant school, though the population of Old Corinth is nearly three times as great as that of the Macedonian
● [433] village. As a matter of fact, the recent increases in the yield
from Old Corinth's land have been so great that a new family
[571] can face life with equanimity, even owning only half as much
land as their parents possessed.

621 For the landless segment of the population, and for those
×178 who own only a tiny plot insufficient to maintain a family any-
571 way, the problem is quite different. Here the major considera-
433 tion is not land but wages; and as long as there is work, and wages are comparatively good, the new generation can start off with little or nothing but a strong back and willing hands, and
[582] hope to make out about as well as their fathers have done. For
them also, there is no overwhelming pressure to postpone marriage in order to keep up a standard of living.

621 As a result, the population statistics of Old Corinth do not
163 show nearly so drastic a change from the prewar years as is
evident in Nea Eleftherohori. Yet the birth rate has dropped in
165 Old Corinth also. In the 1930's (when the population of the village was, of course, a good deal smaller) recorded births ranged between 58 and 46 each year. Since 1947 the range has been from 46 to 33. This change, however, has been nearly offset by a parallel drop in the death rate. Before the war, deaths averaged close to 30 each year; since 1947 the average has been
[744] a little over 12. The drop has mainly been due to the elimina-
tion of malaria through DDT; whereas Old Corinth was formerly one of the many places in Greece badly afflicted by that disease, there was no malaria in 1956.

ventured into territory controlled by the Greek army or police. 722
Resentment against the Greek authorities was widespread, al- 669
though one man in the village, in speaking to me privately, [464]
made it clear that he at least did not like to contribute to the
upkeep of the guerrilla garrison that controlled the village.

The population of the village was 630 persons, of whom over 621
200 were under fifteen years of age. Thus there was about one 433
fifth of an acre of agricultural land per head, land that was mis-
erably poor to begin with. Clearly the village could not live on [162]
its agriculture; and even when it had been safe to graze sheep [511]
on the barren mountain slopes, as it was not in 1947, the village
still could not begin to maintain itself on local resources. The
villagers calculated that they could produce food for about four
months in the year; the deficit had to be made good outside.

In prewar years two means had been found to make ends
meet. The men of the village were accomplished masons, and [463]
traveled far and wide over Greece seeking work as builders. In [333]
addition, they found work in various sorts of heavy construc- [464]
tion – road building, irrigation works and the like. But in 1947
such jobs were not to be had, at least not by men with a Slavic
accent.

The second, and perhaps more important, resource was remit- 621
tances from abroad. The village had begun to send men over- 433
seas, mainly to Canada and Australia, even before the first 457
world war. During the interwar years, the migration had contin- 167
ued despite growing barriers to free movement. In Toronto,
Canada, and in Sydney, Australia, natives of Kotta had founded
regular little colonies, and the members of these emigrant
groups, all of whom were related to one another in some degree,
helped to finance the continued emigration. Each family ex-
pected to send at least one son overseas, and that son was in
turn expected to send back enough of his earnings to keep his
parents fed and clothed, and to help out his brothers and sisters
who stayed home.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
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Kotta

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175 In politics, the result was a series of risings against the lords
669 of the plains, which centered in the marginal hill villages. Un-
619 til 1912, the lords of the Macedonian plains were of course Turks, and Greek nationalism (like other Balkan nationalisms) was therefore able with perfect propriety to combine territorial expansion with social revolution, and pit hill against plain in the name of individual freedom and national self-determination. The first clear example of this phenomenon was the Greek War of Independence of 1821–30. The long series of revolts and irregular wars of the nineteenth century in the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire continued the process; and the guerrilla movements in Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece during (and in Greece after) the second world war were only its latest manifestations. In this most recent period, however, the lords of the plains were not Turks any longer, and were not even landlords. Instead they were fellow peasants and co-nationals. The difference was cloaked during World War II by the fact that Germans and Italians were in the plains, and to attack them served to justify the far more genuine assault upon the plains villages – from which, after all, the major food supply of the guerrilla forces had to come. Only in Greece, between 1946 and 1949, did the divergence between nationalism and social revolution become clear; and even in that instance, as pointed out above, most guerrillas felt themselves to be Greek patriots as well.

621 Kotta's wartime experience shows dramatically how such
161 warfare brought its own solution to the problem of overpopula-
433 tion – cruel, blind, bloody, but effective. Depopulation, such as Kotta suffered, certainly sufficed to solve for a generation or so the problem of too many mouths and not enough land. When the crisis passed, survivors could settle back to a more or less satisfactory life again, until their growing numbers should once more make the traditional style of life impossible within the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kotta

[Hill Villages]

limits of the hill valleys. In times past, Balkan hillsmen then had to seek sustenance from the plains, either by peaceful labor or by armed forays. 621 161 433

As far as Kotta and villages like it are concerned, it now seems to me an open question whether the old cycle will repeat itself again or whether new standards of expectation and conduct will make sufficient inroads upon the traditional peasant family system to check early marriage and rapid multiplication of numbers. Through overseas emigration, the modern city has made its mark on Kotta. All but a few young people want to leave, and many have done so. At the same time, the handful who remain appear to be conforming to the old ways. Perhaps the critical turn will come as their children grow up; for if the rising generation elects to look beyond the confines of the village – and if the possibilities of migration, either within Greece or overseas, exist – then, perhaps, as the population of the village begins to press once again upon the limits of local production, the young people may decline to continue the old, economically suicidal pattern, and will instead seek their fortunes far afield, and refuse to marry into hopeless poverty at home. It depends more than anything else, perhaps, upon the degree of communication that may come to exist between the outside world and the villagers. In 1956 these contacts were limited. Newspapers came seldom; vehicles rarely. But the village did possess a radio that brought daily news from Athens; and emigrants' letters were perhaps the most important of all the channels of contact with the great world beyond the valley in which Kotta nestles. 621 161 167 [20]

Survivors of the older generation – those who have lost their children to the guerrillas – seem to have no doubts or reservations in wishing to see more and more children about again. The priest complained of how empty and joyless the village was without the throngs of children he knew before. He deeply 621 161 842

Kotta

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621 regretted the loss of five of his own whom the guerrillas had
161 taken. Yet he was fortunate in having one child still with him,
842 a girl who was too young to leave her mother when the guerrillas
took the older children. As for the attitudes of the younger generation in the village, I could not satisfy myself. In the presence of their elders, they generally kept quiet, and certainly refrained from any overt dissent. Whether they, too, shared the traditional view that the more children one has the better off one is (assured thereby of God's blessing and of sustenance in old age), I could not tell.

CHERASIA

621 Cherasia is a village in Thessaly near the base of Mount
361 Pelion, some six air miles from Volos, the fourth city of Greece.
[491] Along the winding road, however, it lies about twelve miles
from Volos; and before 1952 the only road connection with the
village required a detour of about twenty-four miles around the
[173] mountain. The community is an old one. Local tradition holds
that it was founded 680 years ago. Until the Germans destroyed
●433 the "upper" village in 1943, the community led a semi-migratory
[233] life, spending the summer months high up the mountain
where a natural spring supplied water, and coming down to the foot of the mountain only in winter, when the flocks could pasture on the stubble of other villages' grain fields. The villagers looked upon the upper village as their real home, the lower one as only a temporary shelter.

×178 The traditional occupations of the village were sheepherding
433 and charcoal burning. Once upon a time, sixty or seventy years
233 ago, the main support of the community may well have been
314 sheep, pastured on the rough mountain in summer, and on grain
[438] stubble in the winter. Then, by degrees, charcoal burning and
woodcutting became more important. Two factors presumably

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

314
233

led to this change. One was the rise of Volos as an important 178x
urban center, requiring charcoal as fuel for cooking and for 433●
heating houses. To supply the rising demand, the villagers of [438]
Cherasia began cutting off the forests of Mount Pelion with a
new energy. A second factor was the growth of population in
Cherasia itself. As more families appeared, sheep could not support
them all, because the pastures could not be readily extended.
So the people fell back on exploitation of the forests.

This "ancient" history is mostly speculation. I was not able
to get any clear account of their distant past from the men of
the village. What they did know was that in 1905 three families [423]
had secured title to 100 stremmata (25 acres) of land apiece in
the little valley that spreads out below the site of their winter
quarters at the foot of the mountain. At that time, very likely, [241]
the free villagers of the mountain saw little or no attraction in
the toilsome life of a farmer, and preferred to keep to their ancient
shepherd's way of life, supplemented by woodcutting and
charcoal burning.

About the time of the first world war, things changed. As the 178x
population continued to grow, sheep and charcoal no longer 433
sufficed to provide a satisfactory living for the members of the 241
community. Many of them began to clear little patches of rocky
mountainside in the hope of raising a crop or two on the land. 423
Their tenure was legally recognized by a governmental survey [314]
made in 1922, which assigned to each family title to the patches
its members had cleared and cultivated in preceding years.
During the interwar period the pressure to find supplementary
means of livelihood through agriculture continued to mount.
In 1938, village authorities parceled out 500 stremmata of what
had been common pasture to private family ownership. No further
property changes had occurred in the village up to 1956.

The brute fact remains, however, that fields cleared from
mountain slopes are miserable agricultural land. These produce

[Hill Villages]

x 178 a crop of only about 30 okes of wheat per stremma (a little more
●433 than 4 bushels per acre), and are capable of doing that only for
241 two or three years, after which time the field has to be aban-
doned for a while until its dubious fertility has been restored.
423 The president of the village told me that he allows the villagers
to clear land wherever they can find anything that seems worth
clearing, even though this goes beyond the letter of the law and
encroaches on what is properly common pasture.

x 178 The desperate effort to find more cultivable land throughout
the interwar, wartime and postwar years reflects the growing
313 exhaustion of the forests, upon which the majority of the village
314 population have come to depend. The villagers have cut off the
433 trees farther and farther up the mountain, until only a little
scrub oak remains; and even this is so thin that a man has to
work hard and long to collect enough wood to make a charcoal
[438] burning. Since World War II, indeed, it has become more usual
to sell the wood in its raw form, even though this multiplies
transport problems, and means far less money per donkey-load
delivered to Volos.

x 178 Within the village itself bitter feelings began to rise during
the interwar period. The three families that had turned to agri-
241 culture in 1905, thus securing possession of the only decent
423 agricultural land in the whole village, were able to keep their
565 farms together. In 1956, one of the three families had removed
578 entirely to Volos, and was renting out its land on a sharecrop-
427 ping basis to poorer families in the village. The other two "rich"
families (who by any standard other than that of Cherasia were
still poor) were each represented in the village by a single
household, presumably because other descendants of the original
owners had left for town. The result was a striking economic
contrast between the poor woodcutters, whose painfully cleared
hillside patches were scarcely worth the labor of cultivation,
and the "rich" families. Indeed, the members of the two village

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

178x

households owning 100 stremmata each did not find it necessary 241
to work the land themselves. Like the absentee in Volos, they 423
also rented their fields on a sharecropping basis to the others. 565
The president of the village in 1956 was the head of one of
these households; he had let the nail of his little finger on one 578
hand grow in order to prove to everyone that he was exempt 427
from manual labor. He was also the only fat man I saw in the [302]
village. [142]

The bad feeling in Cherasia was not simply a matter of economics, 178x
however. Shepherds have had a proud tradition in
Greece. Heavy manual labor is beneath them, and they have always 233
felt themselves superior to the grubbing farmers of the 241
plains. Moreover, a tradition of violence has always lain near 433
the surface among shepherds. In days not so very far past, it was 565
part of the shepherd's job to protect his flock from wolves. Even 578
today a few wolves are said to survive in remote parts of [579]
Greece; and whenever public order breaks down, far more dangerous
two-footed wolves, armed with guns, quickly appear. [461]
The transition from shepherd to bandit has always been easy.
A shepherd losing his flock must almost automatically become a
two-footed wolf himself, preying on other shepherds or, better
yet, on the fat, stolid landlords and peasants of the plain.

In view of these traditions, one can better understand the [461]
spirit of Cherasia. Free shepherds, traditionally ready for violence,
were being ground down to a status beneath that of the
weaklings who in 1905 had preferred the indignity of labor to
the leisure of mountain pastures; and to the people of Cherasia
this seemed a clear reversal of the proper social order. They
were most unwilling to accept such a reversal. They were not
farmers, and did not wish to become farmers. As a result, they
did not do all they might have done to make their hillside agriculture
rewarding. Field labor was, for them, a regrettable
necessity, not a satisfying way of life. They made no effort at 000

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 terracing, attempted no planting of fruit trees or of vines, and
233 in general refused to borrow any of the traditional and very
241 effective methods of Greek Mediterranean agriculture, even
though there are villages on the other side of Mount Pelion,
433 within less than two hours' walking distance, where these methods have been in use for centuries on land intrinsically no better than that of the Cherasia hillsides. (There is one important difference, however: because Cherasia's land faces north, toward the open Thessalian plain, cold winter winds blow across it and make olive cultivation impossible. But olive cultivation is and has always been the backbone of Mediterranean hillside agriculture. This undoubtedly is the reason why settlers from over the mountain never tried to exploit Cherasia's hillsides, leaving them to shepherds for winter pasture.)

x 178 The upshot of the history and traditions of Cherasia was that
565 even before World War II, a thoroughly revolutionary mood
578 prevailed in the village. The poor – which is to say nearly
669 everybody in the village except the three families – felt the
need to find a scapegoat for what was happening to them. They
579 despised but also envied the three "rich" families, and felt that it would no more than serve them right to be plundered of all they had gained. The villagers also held the government and all other persons in authority vaguely responsible for the straits in which they found themselves. They could not help casting greedy eyes upon rich villages like Lofiscos, which lies within sight of Cherasia, a scant twenty miles across the flat Thessalian plain. But unlike most Greek villagers, they did not really want agricultural land; plunder was more in line with the tradition of the community.

726 The Communist-led guerrilla movement of World War II
669 therefore found unusually ready and unanimous support in
Cherasia. No one was willing to tell me how many men from

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

x 178 various government plans would fail. Indeed, I suspect that the
829 vines which the agricultural extension agent planted so hope-
669 fully may have died, not because his plans were faulty, but be-
241 cause the villagers failed to look after them.

Aside from the fact that Communist sympathies were deeply
● 433 implanted in the village even before the war and were strengthened during and after it by the guerrilla movement, one can point to two facts that help to explain the village attitude. First, the persons who stand to benefit principally from agricultural improvements are naturally those who possess good land – the three families that acquired the bottom land in 1905. For the others, on their miserable hillside patches, there is little the agricultural extension agent can do.

x 178 Second, and much more important, is the fact that in 1954
829 the government cracked down on woodcutting. Roughly half
669 of the mountain slopes, which had been "theirs" for as long as
433 the men of the village could remember, were set aside as a for-
313 est preserve where woodcutting was forbidden. The villagers
656 did not stop cutting wood, but they now do it by stealth, mostly
at night, and go out in parties, with watchmen posted in appropriate places to warn them when one of the forest guards comes by. Such activity smacks more than a little of warfare against constituted authority; and in proportion as the men of the village make their living in this illegal fashion, they maintain an open hostility against the government. In doing so they remain faithful to the old "freedom" of the village, characteristic of their shepherd forebears and of their guerrilla relatives and contemporaries.

Small wonder, therefore, that the villagers regard the government as hypocritical and inimical – pretending to give them something with one hand (but really giving mainly to the "rich" families) while with the other depriving them of their very livelihood. No theoretical arguments, to the effect that Greece

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

badly needs reforestation, and that in the long run everyone, in- 178x
cluding the people of Cherasia, will benefit from re-establish- 829
ment of real forests on Mount Pelion, carry any weight among 669
the woodcutters who feel that their rights have been ruthlessly 433
disregarded, and their traditional way of life endangered. They 313
do not care to be farmers, and for all their ragged poverty, de- 656
spise such slavish souls as are content to labor long and hard on
the land. [241]

A deep and painful irony lies in the fact that without the 669
bureaucratic paternalism of the government most of the people 722
of Cherasia would, in all probability, have died during the guer- 657
rilla war. What happened in Kotta, where the arm of the gov- 178x
ernment did not reach, might well have happened also in Cherasia, if the inhabitants of the village had not been evacuated to Volos in 1947 and fed there – however miserably – for two and a half years by government relief. And if the population of the village had shrunk to one third of what it actually was in 1956, then it does not seem improbable that much of the present bitterness would have dissolved, because then something like the free traditional way of life would have been possible again. Governmental intervention between 1947 and 1950 prevented the operation of the brutal old-fashioned remedy for overpopulation; but governmental intervention since 1950 has not yet sufficed (and seems unlikely *to suffice in the future*) to provide a tolerable life for the population that has so successfully been preserved from famine, disease and violent death.

The official records of Cherasia were in considerable confu- 217
sion in 1956, and I was not able to secure satisfactory figures on 166
the present and past population of the village. The main reason 727
for this state of affairs is that many families are registered as inhabitants of Cherasia, but do not reside there. When the villagers were sent back to their homes, everyone was supposed to go, and officially everyone did. Actually, about twenty-five

217 families managed to escape official pressures and stayed in
166 Volos, I was told, even though the records showed them back
[727] in the village. Similarly, a trickle of migration from the village
into Volos since 1950 has gone unrecorded. With every sort of
bureaucratic obstacle put in the way of legal transfer of residence from Cherasia to Volos, most of those who depart from
the village simply neglect red tape and leave their names registered in Cherasia. They do so not by choice, since people
[745] officially registered as living in a village like Cherasia cannot claim
unemployment benefits in Volos, and if they find no work, must
either starve, rely upon relatives, or return to their village until
better times offer a new start in town. This, of course, is the main
reason why transfer of residence is made so difficult; the government could not afford to pay unemployment benefits to all the
hungry men from the hills who might swarm into town if they
could secure such payments.

162 Nevertheless, the villagers all agreed that more people were
621 living in Cherasia in 1956 than had lived there before the war.
A mean between conflicting estimates of the population came
[433] out close to 500 for 1956, and about 430 for 1940. The villagers
reckon that their own local production supplies food for only
[432] two months in the year. The rest has to be bought with money
earned by selling wood and charcoal, together with an occasional lamb from their flock.

621 Records of births and deaths were also in confusion, partly
217 because children born in Volos to parents registered in Cherasia
162 *are supposed to be, but are not always in* fact, entered in the
[743] village records. Partly, too, confusion arises from the custom of
[844] sending pregnant women to the Volos hospitals to give birth –
a new departure in village custom, resulting from the wartime
experience of living in the town, and facilitated by the existence
of the new road. These children, too, sometimes escape the village registers, or are entered late. For what the figures may be

[Hill Villages]

621 Ten men in the village had come back after serving with the
669 guerrillas, and were kept under informal surveillance. Some
727 forty others had not returned, and most of these were presumed
dead. Thirteen who had retreated behind the iron curtain in 1949 had, however, sent letters to their relatives. The village president, who provided these statistics, was obviously well informed on these matters and clearly believed that a major part of his duties was to keep a close watch upon leftists or suspected leftists.

166 Here, then, is a village scarcely better off than it was in 1947.
621 In spite of the expenditure of tens of thousands of dollars, de-
● 433 rived indirectly from American aid – indeed, *because* of such
[669] expenditure – the acute and untenable overcrowding of very
poor land continues; and with it the political tensions of 1946–49 seethe, just beneath the surface. The only solution for Cherasia which seems to make any sense is to remove two thirds or more of the present population, and find land or work for them elsewhere. This has not been attempted; official policy has done just the opposite by placing barriers in the way of migration from the community.

[464] Unfortunately, Volos, the natural outlet for the surplus population of Cherasia, was itself undergoing a first-class economic crisis in 1956.[4] The port, which is the economic heart of the

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[731]
[653]
[4] An earthquake which damaged many buildings in Volos rather badly in 1954 was, under the circumstances, a perverse blessing to many of the poorer families of the town. Repair and reconstruction got under way quickly, thanks to a special grant from the national budget (and assisted by a special American aid appropriation of $7 million for the purpose). This gave temporary work to many, but by 1956 this extraordinary source

[288] of employment had dwindled. At the same time, a large textile plant in the city went on part time, and discharged a large proportion of its working force, as a result of a general crisis in the Greek textile trade. Consequently, Volos was, like Cherasia, unusually clean and tidy in 1956, and unusually depressed.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

EH1 Greece EH1

Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

city, was almost idle, so that serious unemployment was en- 166
demic in Volos, thus effectively blocking the easiest and most 621
immediate escape for the hillsmen of Cherasia. In the Thes- 433 ●
salian plain, villages like Lofiscos have not developed their agri-
culture to a level of intensity that would offer seasonal employ- 464
ment on a significant scale. Hence, for the time being the people
of Cherasia are caught in a net scarcely of their own devising.
At the same time they are stubbornly and angrily doing little
or nothing to help themselves. It is not a hopeful situation, and [669]
if the general political climate of Greece should change, an-
other guerrilla band could very likely be recruited from Che-
rasia without difficulty and at a moment's notice.

KARDAMILI

Kardamili lies on the sea, and can thus be described as a hill 621
village only by looking inland, where high and barren hillsides [361]
rise abruptly from the coast, with only a small stream and a
miniature delta to explain the location of the community. It is [133]
situated on the west coast of the central peninsula of the south-
ern Peloponnese. Just to the south lies the wild and desolate
country of Mani, a region where tribal organization and blood
feud lasted into the twentieth century.

Kardamili raises a little wheat in the stream delta, but its 621
major crop is olives. The rocky hillsides are covered with trees, 433
skillfully planted in crevices and pockets of soil, many of which
have been created artificially by terracing. The villagers reckon [241]
that they produce enough wheat to supply the community for [438]
about four months in the year; the rest has to be imported with
money gained through the sale of olive oil.

Before the war, Kardamili added to its strictly agricultural [366]
resources by acting as a commercial center for a number of in- [438]
land villages. They, too, exported olive oil, together with a few [491]

Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

433 animals; and before roads were built, these villages brought
366 their surplus on donkey-back (or on the hoof) to Kardamili,
438 where it was put on board a small ship, and carried either to
Athens or to Kalamata, the local metropolis, some thirty-five
491 miles away on the rich Messenian plain. In addition, an oil-
258 pressing plant was constructed in 1929 in Kardamili which em-
464 ployed as many as a hundred persons at the height of the sea-
son. Even when there were no olives to press, the plant kept
388 open the year around by making soap and other products.

This was the basis upon which about 750 people were able to make a living in the village before the war. In recent years, however, the village has not prospered. The oil factory closed
258 down permanently in 1940, depriving the village of what had
been one of its most important resources. After the war, a new
491 road, built in 1949–50, destroyed the importance of the port.
438 Instead of bringing their olives to Kardamili on donkey-back
and selling them there, the peasants of the hinterland loaded their produce directly onto trucks bound for Kalamata or Athens.

The new system was an obvious improvement on older methods of transport and marketing; but it meant that Kardamili, which for a few years between the wars had struggled toward becoming a miniature town, was compelled to sink back to a
621 purely village status. One manifestation of this change is a de-
crease in population. In 1940, the village had about 750 inhabit-
669 ants; in 1956 the population totaled only 512. War losses were
722 insignificant, although guerrillas did kill two persons from the
161 village. The whole community was forcibly evacuated to Kala-
162 mata in 1949 to prevent its exploitation by guerrilla bands that
ranged even this far south. The evacuation was perhaps scarcely justified, however, since the guerrillas never again came near, and when the villagers returned in 1950 they found their houses intact.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957

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Kardamili

[Hill Villages]

They came back to a village whose earlier means of liveli- 621
hood was being undermined by new roads. As this fact became 166
clear, emigration from the village commenced. Altogether, 464
something like two hundred persons left the village between 433
1950 and 1956. Only one family went overseas, to Australia. The [161]
rest went either to Kalamata or to Athens. Among those who
have remained in the village, a considerable number have un- [167]
dertaken seasonal migration to the Messenian plain in order to
seek work with which to supplement the meager income from
their olive trees in the village. The biggest single source of em- [243]
ployment which has opened up in recent years is work in rice
fields, developed in former salt marshes on the very edge of the [311]
Messenian plain. For the villagers of Kardamili these fields in
Messenia have meant work and wages. Between eighty and
ninety persons, both men and women, leave the village each
year to help cultivate the rice fields. While working, they live [342]
in shanties or even out of doors, and return to their homes in
Kardamili when work stops, or when something needs to be
done on their own land.

Within the village there are variations in wealth, but no fam- 621
ily has so much land as to need to hire labor. Indeed, the village 241
secretary told me that the richest man in the village has only 429
forty days' work a year on his olive trees, while nearly one third [556]
of all the village families own no land at all.

The only change that has come to the traditional agriculture 178
of the community is the introduction of fertilizer, but few fam- 245
ilies use it. A common opinion holds that fertilizer is bad for the [241]
olive trees, and makes them short-lived by forcing an unnatural
proliferation of fruit. A more sophisticated farmer told me that
while the size of the fruit is increased by fertilizer, the quantity
of oil is not increased in anything like the same proportion and
its quality is lowered. Since the olive trees of this part of Greece
are famous for the high quality of the oil they produce, which [438]

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left behind,
166 to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one
[369] of the even poorer villages high in the hills – boys who are prepared
[427] to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to
the families of the absent young men in return for a share of
the crop.

647 One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the
Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the
Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service
of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The
[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers
[186] that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And
they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks,
a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against
[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example,
is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the
433 difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread
phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

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come by indirection: that is, by opening opportunities for work in the plains and in the towns even more rapidly than the hill populations increase their numbers. If emigration from the hills reaches a sufficient magnitude, there is a chance that standards of life and expectation derived from urban milieux will penetrate into the hills themselves, and lead the peasants there to change their customs and to regulate their reproduction to an economic standard. But until a lively possibility of attaining or defending such a standard of living begins to open, one cannot expect the hillsmen to abandon old customs which have been deeply bred into them from earliest childhood. In other words, only when self-discipline, parsimony, effort and foresight seem to promise a definitely better life than anything these people now know can changes be expected in the old-fashioned family customs. The difficulty is that the old-fashioned, rough-and-ready — one is tempted to say the natural or automatic — demographic balance has been upset by the comparative efficiency of modern government, and by medical science. Until compensatory adjustments in birth rates have occurred, the result is to create a serious and potentially explosive problem.

It is possible to imagine a time, some twenty or thirty years from now, when a more or less regular pattern of internal migration may establish itself in Greece. Perhaps some day young men from the hills, descending to the plain, may begin as day laborers and in time acquire land, by marriage or by purchase, while the plains villagers restrict their reproduction and send increasing numbers of their sons into town to pursue service or industrial occupations. Or perhaps the more mobile hillsmen may shortcut such a process, and send their sons directly into town occupations, largely bypassing the plains villages as an outlet for their numbers. But as yet only the rudiments of any such migratory pattern can be detected. There still remain, at every level, far too many men who are looking for work or for

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more work; and only the unusually lucky or energetic can clear the barriers between the paternal village and a wider, freer, more satisfying career elsewhere.

The future of Greece might well be thought of as a race between the natural increase of the hill villages and the capacity of plain and town to absorb men into new productive occupations. The future development of the towns and cities will obviously play a major role in deciding how the race comes out. Accordingly, the next chapter will be devoted to some remarks about conditions in the towns.

[PP 147–175 not processed]

647 178
riod, however, important changes have taken place. In particular, a group of comparatively youthful economists and statisticians have risen to key posts in many of the ministries, and are able to advise their superiors in the light of a type of professional training and in accordance with intellectual concepts which ten years ago were noticeably absent from the policy-making levels of the Greek civil service. Even if the execution of official policy is not always effective, ideas of what government ought to do and can do and how to go about doing it have undergone radical change.

647 178 433 ● 177
Politicians and civil servants of the immediate postwar period in Greece grew up in a time when society and the economy were expected to run themselves, subject only to sporadic official interference. The painful inadequacy of this outlook became apparent in 1947, when the emergency relief and reconstruction undertaken by UNRRA began to taper off before the economy had been restored to running order. In this situation, the Greek government lacked ideas as much as the means with which to try to cope with the problems confronting the country. All too clearly, automatic restoration to something like the prewar social and economic pattern was out of the question. Planning and massive organization of effort by government agencies were still needed if serious collapse was to be avoided.

The American aid mission, to be sure, stepped into the gap created by the withdrawal of the British and of UNRRA, and attempted far more energetically than its predecessors to educate Greek administrative personnel to new ways of thinking. Even before 1947, foreigners — mostly American and British — had insisted on making plans for the development of the Greek economy, and a small number of Greeks had been drawn into the attempt. Yet by and large, it was the foreigners who made plans, and the Greeks were consulted afterward. This remained more or less the case until 1950 or 1951; but in propor-

647 tion as the Americans reduced the scale of their economic aid
177 after 1952 and withdrew from detailed supervision of the minis-
433 tries, the task of making plans was transferred to Greek hands.

178 Some senior Greek civil servants, veterans from 1945 and 1946, welcomed the new scope and authority thus entrusted to them; but in the main the men who inherited the new role were not the same persons who ten or even five years before had occupied leading positions in the Greek civil service. Between 1947 and 1952, when American advisers were introduced into nearly all Greek ministries, these impatient foreigners were able to play a major part in determining promotions and key personnel assignments within the ministries. Many a young American economist found himself at first dealing with men much older than himself, men whose ideas often had little relation to those he had imbibed during graduate training in some American university. This regularly led to serious friction, for senior Greek officials were not much inclined to go to school to cocksure youths scarcely more than half their own age. But bright young men could be found in the lower ranks of the civil service who either already shared the concepts of their American counterparts or quickly acquired some familiarity with them. Many such men were sent to the United States for additional technical training, or visited Washington to observe American administrative methods at first hand.

These persons naturally seemed to the Americans to be just the type to run things; and the voice of an American adviser was sufficiently powerful to secure rapid advancement for men he favored. In this fashion a new generation of officials came rapidly to the fore within the Greek ministries, while many of their former superiors were shunted off to unimportant posts or else retired.

647 By 1956, therefore, the economic ministries of the Greek civil
433 service were sprinkled with men of a quite new type, some-
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times of high ability and energy, many of them well at home 647
in the language of post-Keynesian economics. A national statis- 433
tical service was organized to provide them with data for their 178
calculations; and innumerable plans and surveys were made, priorities agreed upon, and projects for future expansion worked out in varying degrees of detail.

Two aims dominated most of the planning of these men. One was to improve the country's balance of payments, partly by producing goods domestically that had hitherto been imported, and partly by developing new exports (especially minerals) or enlarging old ones. The second general aim was to expand employment. Military considerations figured only indirectly in
their calculations, and helping political and personal friends or [661]
penalizing opponents played almost no role at all. This was a great departure, for in the prewar years, whatever economic planning the Greek government had undertaken was heavily colored by these calculations, and paid little attention to broader aims which were assumed to be beyond deliberate manipulation.

Conversations with representatives of this rising group of civil servants gave me the impression that they were more buoyantly optimistic about the future of Greece than the American economists in the aid mission. Greek economic planners were not much inclined to worry about inflation and disbalanced government budgets: they wanted to see new dams, irrigation canals, factories and mines, and felt that if inflation was the easiest way to finance the internal costs of such construction, then inflation was preferable to standing still and waiting until private savings or a government surplus was on hand to pay for the new investment. I also gained the impression that they felt themselves embarked upon a new adventure: striving for conscious management of the direction and pace of economic growth on a nation-wide basis. Moreover, they found

647 the game of manipulating the levers from behind the scenes a
● 433 fascinating and entirely absorbing enterprise – advising minis-
178 ters, talking back to the Americans, and, as they hoped, saving
their country from age-old poverty and hopelessness.

Whether their optimism was well founded, and whether or not the priorities the Greeks have decided upon are the best, seem to me a good deal less important than the fact that such a spirit was abroad at all. Mistakes have been made, and will almost surely be made in the future; but the great mistake which paralyzed the government of Greece in the first postwar years – the mistake of not knowing what to do, of having no policy but one of inaction, of waiting for things to pick up by themselves – this mistake at least will not be made as long as the new generation of civil servants remains as a leaven in the economic ministries, and ministers accept their advice. This is a great change from 1945 or 1946, one for which the American economic mission can take a major share of the credit.

647 The transformation of the upper ranges of the bureaucracy
178 in the central ministries in Athens was only faintly reflected in
the lower ranks in 1956. In general, a petty official sitting behind his desk continued to exhibit a displeasing servility toward his superiors (at least to their faces) and a corresponding hauteur in dealing with mere members of the public. The besetting weakness of Greek administration has been the unwillingness of superiors to delegate much responsibility to their subordinates, and this feature seemed as strong as ever. Busywork, created by passing papers over a long series of desks for approval or initialing, up and again down the hierarchy of rank, was a feature of many government offices, so much so that it was hard not to believe that official routings had been designed to keep a lot of people occupied rather than to get decisions made. It was this feature of Greek administration that the

The Political Cosmos

However real the changes which had come in the senior 645
ranks of the civil service and in local government, it remained 646
true that plans for economic development and for most local 433
improvements depended ultimately upon cabinet ministers who 663
held office as politicians and not as economic or any other sort of technicians. Cabinet ministers in turn held their high positions at the pleasure of parliamentary deputies, whose votes depended partly on party affiliations, partly on personal ambition, and partly on calculations of the state of opinion among the electorate.

As in other countries where a managerial bureaucracy does 666
not enjoy unchallenged control of the governmental machine, 433
the issues that have most excited the politicians and the public 663
in Greece have not been questions of economic policy and priority. Everyone is in favor of economic development, everyone is against inflation; everyone is in favor of better salaries and pensions, and everyone is against an unbalanced budget. In other words, political debate is not carried on in responsible economic terms, and a government in office always finds it impossible to live up to wild promises its leaders made in campaign speeches.

This sort of irresponsibility is by no means peculiar to Greece. 665
Most politicians in democratic countries, not least in the United [563]
States, behave very similarly. What lends the Greek political [619]
world its peculiar character is the nature of the political parties [648]
and the irredentist tradition of Greek nationalism.

Political parties in Greece (with the exception of the Communist party) formed in the past around the person of a political leader rather than around a program or around local political machines. The system worked effectively only when an unusually gifted individual appeared on the scene, who, by the

665 magnetism of his personality, was able to control his followers
and keep them faithful to him. Eleftherios Venizelos was able
to exert such leadership during parts of his career, though even
he was not always successful. General Papagos achieved something
similar during the first year or so when he held office, before
his failing health raised the question of the succession and
induced his followers to start jockeying for position.

645 When no single commanding figure was able to dominate the
662 political scene – and this was normal – then political life became
a complicated intrigue among ambitious individuals.
Every cabinet spent a lot of energy smoothing over personal
frictions within its own ranks, and attempting to block schemes,
originating from the outside, to disrupt its following in the
Chamber of Deputies. In many instances, these preoccupations
[433] prevented the cabinet from paying more than casual attention
[663] to the really important issues confronting Greece: questions of
economic policy, in particular, were often neglected, and awkward
decisions, bound to disappoint powerful individuals, were
sometimes put off indefinitely.

665 The introduction of the majority system of election in 1952
was conceived, both by its Greek advocates and by the United
666 States Embassy, as a promising remedy for this situation. The
645 effect of the new electoral law was to compel separate personal
[177] parties to form election coalitions, since without a coalition no
party could hope for a majority if any two others joined forces.
But the coalitions did not really destroy the personal parties.
Instead, the leaders forming a coalition bargained together to
decide how many personal supporters each would be allowed
to insert in the coalition's slate of candidates. Questions of the
apportionment of cabinet positions and other honorific appointments,
to be awarded in the event of victory, were also explored
if not always settled in advance. To be sure, Papagos resisted
this process and made few promises to the politicians who

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471 lems Greece confronted. Inflating the currency to pay current
511 running expenses and to finance a modest program of govern-
652 ment capital investment proved far more palatable politically,
even though such a policy penalized the salaried and wage-
[458] earning classes, and led to recurrent crises as the price level
outran their incomes.

● 433 Greece shares this problem with other underdeveloped na-
511 tions in which population growth tends to equal or outstrip
663 increases in productivity, while at the same time superficial
contact with modern economic ideas has convinced leaders of
public opinion that poverty is neither inevitable nor necessary,
but can and should be relieved by government action. Under
these circumstances, the processes of parliamentary government
are most unlikely to turn up politicians who dare to contradict
the immediate desire of the electorate for an improvement of
living standards. Political irresponsibility toward fundamental
economic problems, of a type so widespread in Greece, is a
normal and all but inevitable result.

647 To 1956, at least, the discrepancy between the tenor of politi-
177 cal debate and the planning of technicians in the economic
433 ministries of the Greek government seems to have had only
slight effect upon the practical realization of economic plans. In
645 some cases, the fact that the minister was so often distracted by
663 the exigencies of the political game may even have given civil
servants a freer hand than they might otherwise have had. But
if this was so, the major reason for it was the existence of the
American aid mission, and the ultimate dependence of most
economic advance upon grants from American authorities. That
is to say, a senior civil servant, when confronted by his minister,
could always point out that if his plans were not approved, then
there might be a reckoning with the Americans, whose ideas
about how the Greek government should try to shape the econ-
omy had much in common with the civil servant's approach,
and little with that of the politicians.

It could almost be said that the Americans, having failed to 647
alter the political pattern of Greece by direct intervention in 177
1950 and 1951, succeeded in short-circuiting the political proc- 433
ess by dealing directly with the rising group of civil servants 663
whose general outlook and whose personal positions in the hierarchy of administration had been profoundly influenced by the aid mission itself. This provided, temporarily at least, a workable substitute for responsible self-government; but it was an essentially fragile structure, depending both on the continuance of American grants to Greece and upon the acquiescence of the politicians.

Signs were not wanting in 1956 that the acquiescence of the 648
politicians could not always be depended upon. Neutralism as 668
between the Soviet Union and the United States had a few public advocates, and several newspapers systematically played up incidents that reflected discredit upon American personnel. There were also repeated newspaper attacks upon the privileged status American officials enjoyed. In the fall of 1955 popular demonstrations of sympathy for the Cypriotes in Athens, Salonika and Patras took a rather violent anti-American turn, including the stoning of American official buildings. Wherever I went in 1956 the inevitable question was put: Why does the United States not live up to its principles and support Greek claims in Cyprus?

In this indirect fashion, the Cyprus question allowed public expression of restiveness against American influence in Greece to assume a politically respectable, i.e., non-Communist, form. Part, though by no means a major part, of the emotional energy behind the Cyprus agitation in Greece reflected resentment against the American leading strings which had controlled Greece so thoroughly for nearly ten years.

Because the Cyprus question offered release for many diverse frustrations and grievances, it attained extraordinary proportions. All other political issues were in almost total eclipse in career of modern Greece, since the days when a small segment of the peninsula first won independence from the Turks, has been punctuated by recurrent bouts of intense popular excitement over the liberation of one or another portion of the Greek-speaking world that still remained under foreign sovereignty. In spite of costly failures, this agitation, and actions in accord with it, sooner or later added the Ionian Islands, Thessaly, Crete, Macedonia, the easterly Aegean Islands and part of Thrace to the Greek state. So successful has the nationalist program been that by 1956 Cyprus remained the only important area where a large Greek-speaking majority lived under foreign rule. The Greeks, therefore, felt entirely justified in demanding that such an anomaly end. 648 668

Anyone who takes democratic doctrines seriously must agree that the Greek case in Cyprus was a good one, since about 80 per cent of the islanders speak Greek and have given strong evidences of identification with Greece in recent years. Nor has the social and economic level of the Cypriotes been such as to justify a denial of self-government. Hence the Greeks of Greece had a good cause, and felt that the indifference of the United States to the issue, and the refusal of Britain to agree to grant self-government to Cyprus, represented a repudiation of their democratic professions. The burning conviction that the great powers were in the wrong and that the Greeks were in the right added fuel to the agitation, while Turkey's intervention in the question had the effect of opening once again all the wounds inflicted by past warfare between the two peoples.

On two occasions in the past, war with the Turks resulted from the desire of Greeks to liberate their fellow nationals, and on several other occasions war was narrowly averted by the intervention of the great powers. These wars and war scares cost Greece dearly in the past. One of the reasons for the failure of the economy to develop more rapidly was the financial bur- [433]

648 den the government incurred as a result of these enterprises;
668 and the complete catastrophe which came to the Hellenic com-
[433] munities of Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923, following the failure of the Greek effort to annex part of the eastern Aegean coast, left marks upon the Greek body social which are still conspicuous. Yet then, as more recently in the case of Cyprus, counsels of caution or calculations of expediency scarcely found a hearing. The warm feeling of patriotism, all the warmer for being so reckless of consequences, overcame and continued to overcome every obstacle.

The Cyprus question became acute in the spring of 1955 when EOKA began issuing manifestoes and throwing bombs in the island, demanding self-determination and the end of colonial administration. Whether, or in what degree, the Greek government was an accomplice in provoking EOKA to action is impossible to say. Clandestine support of irregular armed action against a foreign government is an old tradition in the Balkans. The Greek government was itself attacked in this indirect fashion by Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania during the guerrilla war; and all the Christian nations of the Balkans used similar methods against the Turks. The fact that the leader of EOKA was reputed to be Colonel George Grivas, a man who had once served in the Greek army, and who had been the head of an extra-legal rightist armed band in the years just after the end of World War II, suggested, but by no means proved, that agents of the Greek government may have had a hand in organizing the guerrillas in Cyprus.

If so (and this is not a proven fact), it seemed fairly clear that in the months that followed EOKA's appearance in Cyprus agitation in Greece grew to proportions that the government had not expected, and did not really desire. To have an issue upon which all Greeks could unite behind a government that bring about the overthrow of the Karamanlis government and 648 the installation of a cabinet far less inclined to cleave to the 668 western alliance system of NATO in foreign affairs, and far less amenable to American advice concerning home policy.

What the effect of such a change might be upon the develop- 433 ment of the economy, or upon the civil servants who were so 662 busily planning its growth, cannot be forecast. My point merely 663 is this: that the divorce between the realm of political discourse in Greece and the real problems of economic and social melioration within the nation is so wide as to be dangerous. Some economically ruinous action, rising from feelings of outraged nationalism, and provoked by politicians who hope to win place and prestige by risking everything on a politico-military gamble, may damage much of what has already been accomplished, or postpone indefinitely the realization of plans which have been laid for future economic expansion.

There are here the makings of a vicious circle. The major cause of the characteristic irresponsibility and extremism of Greek politics in recent decades, I am convinced, has been the chronic discontents and personal frustrations which tens of thousands of white-collar and professional people have felt. For them, politics offers a psychological release from daily difficulty and disappointment. To act as an adequate catharsis, political argument must be exciting, indeed inflammatory. The politicians therefore offer excitement, and when they cannot find it they try to manufacture it. If no internal foe seems sufficiently evil, then attacks are turned against some foreign antagonist. Political instability and changeability are the result, and when words boil over into actions real economic setbacks often follow – setbacks that feed the chronic discontent behind the political manifestations themselves.

Much of the domestic history of modern Greece can be interpreted as the result of such a vicious circle in action. The re-

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433 construction of the economy and the transformation of the civil
662 service since 1947 seem to offer a chance for escape from this
663 circle, but escape is as yet by no means assured.

The Communist Problem

668 The Communist party was declared illegal in October 1947,
669 and has remained illegal since then. Communist party leaders first joined the guerrillas, then retreated with the remnant of the guerrilla army behind the iron curtain. It seems entirely likely that the exile leadership was torn by faction and recrimination. Backwash from the shipwreck of their hopes on the Macedonian issue in 1949 must have continued to distract the secret councils of the party. Equally, the changing winds of doctrine that followed Stalin's death shook the Greek Communist party, and, combined perhaps with other factors, led in the fall of 1956 to the demotion of Nicholas Zachariades and the substitution of an almost unknown personality as Secretary General.

Rather strenuous police measures were taken during the guerrilla war to break up the Communist underground organization. Many people were arrested and several hundred were shot. How effective these measures were in breaking down the party organization cannot be judged by anyone standing outside the inmost party circles. Furthermore, the failure of the guerrilla enterprise, and the collision between Greek national feeling and international Communist policy over the question of the future of Macedonia must have disheartened even the most fanatical Communists in Greece, and certainly discredited Communism in the eyes of many who had formerly been sympathetic.

668 Whether these events mean that the Communist threat to Greece is lastingly removed, or whether the Greek Communist

/20 cont./ In 443
exchange for their agricultural products they get, kerosene, thread, 438
buttons, needles, rice, sugar, tea, dried fish, beans, candy,
olives, olive oil, soap and salt. Most farmers hang around the
bazaar corners to watch the bargaining tricks of livestock merchants,
visiting other friends from other villages, or buy and sell ocen,
or watch the bazaar price for different commodities. These
bazaars for many farmers are reliable centers of information, to
know how he can advantageously exchange his goods for the needs
of his family. Based of long experience, the farmer has found it 436
safer to keep his goods rather than money. Money, he thinks,
creates more enemies than anything else.

The economic system which the farmer of Megali Vrisi and 443
in general the farmer of the area developed is peculiar to one 452
crop farming. The farmer usually makes all his purchases from
one merchant, who could give him credit and collect it at harvest [433]
time in kind. The farmer goes to the market once a week for his
needs. His merchant keeps the account. The farmer never keeps [451]
any account and never tries to investigate his accounts fearing he
may lose his chance of getting credit. If the merchant is sincere
and God-fearing and does not /21/ like to cheat the farmer, the
farmer may be lucky, but I question this since my experience in
that area proved to me, that in spite of the large amount of non-collected debts, the merchants were far better off than the farmers.
At harvest season the merchants gather around the coffee houses.
They carry scales and a sack, and go from house to house to
collect the debts in kind. If the farmer had a poor year, he
usually pretends to be missing from the village so as to delay his
year's payment and postpone it for the coming year. Hard feelings
usually develop and if the merchant stops the credit he may lose
what he already has to collect. Thus the farmer is tied up to the
merchant and the merchant is forced to continue credit to the
farmer. Bad years usually create hard feeling between these two [578]
groups. The agricultural bank which tried hard to displace the [652]
merchants could not very well do it. The loans it offered were
very little and could not cover all the needs of the farmer. The ooo

/21 cont./ The
one crop farming in most cases develops many economic and social 443
difficulties. The peddlers of finished goods in the villages absorb 437
a large part of the trade. Usually in exchange for their goods they 433
get live poultry and eggs.

The biological function. The morals are very strict in the 834
village. In the grammar school the children are /22/ together
but after the age of 15 one seldom finds boys and girls playing to- [872]
gether. Only the close relatives have an approved right to dance [602]
with a girl or walk with her to the market. The boys get married
at from 18-25 and the girls from 15 to 20 years of age. The period 582
from 15 to 20 is spent by the girl in preparing her dowry. She is 883
busy at the loom or in embroidery with the needle and thread. 583
One of the desired qualities of the girl is to have her handmade 286
stuff. The ultimate aim of the marriage is to have children. If it 294
happens that she cannot have a child the first year of her married [581]
life then gossip will start in the village of her inability to bear a 842
child. Just the way a farmer thinks about a cow not calving, so do [521]
the relatives and especially the father and mother-in-law. There
is no limit as to the number of the children, as long as both
husband and wife are healthy. The usual belief and excuse is,
"God gave them and He will take care of them." Both young men [867]
and the young women are instructed as to their duties as fathers
and mothers. Birth control has no place here. Nature takes care
of it. The strongest of the children survive under the conditions
that are available for living. Besides, to use any method of pre-
venting birth to a child is thought to be an immoral act. Thus
out of seven to eight children in a family about five survive up to [165]
the age of six and the rest /23/ die before then.

Size of families. The size of families varies in Megali Vrisi. 596
One finds the largest numbers among Caucasians and the smallest
among Thracians. The Caucasians used to live in compound [178]
families and still they stick to this idea even though it was broken
down due to the new method of distribution of land. Even today
one finds as large as 25 members in the family and as low as 3
members in the family. The compound family makes farming [241]

511
241

/45 cont./

Sickle	2	40		
Axes	1	70		[422]
Wagons	1	2,500		[435]
			4,200	[412]
		Grand total	31,510	

A one crop farm does not offer regular income year after year.
Due to diversity of climatic conditions there are on the average 3
good years to one poor year. Because of the recent settlement of
the farmers their needs are great not only for their families but also
for their farms, such as tools, animals, stables, barns, better houses
and payment of their loans. The poor years increase the debts of [426]
the farmer tremendously and if unable to pay them he tries to find [577]
a refuge by telling lies.

The Pattern of Land use. One of the greatest troubles that the 241
farmer of Megali Vrisi has is in getting to and from his fields. His
share of land which is composed of 45 stremas (10 1/2 acres), is 423
divided into 7 fields. The smallest piece is 1/4 of an acre and the [484]
largest 2 acres. The government in its endeavor to give equal
chance to all farmers has divided the land into /46/ 7 categories
according to fertility and the distance from the village. Thus the
nearest field is 1/5 of a mile and the farthest one is 4 1/2 miles.
This type of division, besides consuming time to and from the fields [433] ●
and tiring the animals with unnecessary walking, also reduces the
productiveness through poor management of the fields. Rotation is
neglected since the farmers having their fields in certain section [242]
have to agree on crop plantation with their neighbors. The fencing [476]
of the individual fields is impossible and anyone can pasture any
field after the crops are removed. There is a law that gives the [233]
right of pasturing the fields by anyone after the crops are removed.

We can summarize the good and bad points for such a distribution of land.

Advantages:

1. Gives equal opportunity to each farmer to have equal share of fertile as well as of infertile land.

/46 cont./

2. Have land close to the village which can be used for 241
vegetable crops. 423

3. If the crop of one section fails, due to hail or flood, still his other fields are saved.

Disadvantages:

1. Waste of time on the road.

2. Hard to work without causing trouble /47/ to the neighbors.

3. Proper rotation can not be carried on.

4. Inefficient use of man and animal labor.

5. Trouble between neighbors either for stepping or stealing from each others fields.

6. Much land is lost for the roads and division lines.

The worst of all the disadvantages are the conflicts that are [578]
created among good neighbors because of stepping in each others
fields or plowing a furrow on the dividing lines. The priest of the [685]
village, who is keen minded, found out that more cases are reported to courts due to field line differences. People who work close together often do not speak to each other because of such troubles.

The land is suitable for tobacco and opium poppies. These 241
two crops have played a large part during years of prosperity in 249
establishing class distinctions and in teaching the people to be more 511
extravagant. 433

Due to surplus production of tobacco crop in the country this
area was not allowed to plant either tobacco or poppies, but only [656]
to raise cereals. The income from cereals was not as high and forced the farmers to tighten their economy. The luxuries one by
one /48/ started disappearing from the village. The debts that [426]
were created during prosperous years based on the yearly incomes
were hard to pay back.

At present the organized production of cereals and especially 243
of wheat occupies the largest part of the acreage.

Farm Implements. The average farmer has the following 000
implements.

/52 cont./ 241

Stable & straw room built	6.000	511 [435]
Opened a well	3.000	
Deposit in the savings bank	2.000	
Total	46.160 = $262	

From the above accounts we find that the largest single item
of income is from wheat, which comprises over 60% of the whole
income. This shows the importance of the crop not only for market
but for the family consumption. Even in the expense accounts 511
wheat used for /53/ bread is one of the largest items. Next to
wheat come the animal products and the animals. One can easily [262]
see that the basic diet of the farmers is bread. 840 okes, or
2362.80 pounds of wheat makes 3544.20 lbs. of bread for four
persons a year or 886.05 lbs of bread per person per year or 2.5 lbs.
of bread daily per person. This is not the highest, but a little
below the average.

In the expense account we find clothing and building con-
struction the largest expense items. The 6,227 drs. are spent, in
a year, for clothing the family. This is above the average.
Usually the clothing bill runs low, depending on the amount of [286]
cloth mothers can weave. Even though a large part of the cloth is [438]
produced in the village still the yarn has to be bought from the
market.

Next to this the largest cash bill is that of the doctors. This [164]
fluctuates from year to year, depending on the intensity and ex-
tensiveness of malaria and other diseases.

The vegetable crop is another item that needs some explanation. 511
The farmer produced only 15% of his vegetable consumption. 241
Lack of knowledge of vegetable growing forces him to this extra
expense. The soil and climate are suitable for him to raise enough 244
varieties /54/ of vegetables the year around. This is proved by 438
the fact that the vegetables he buys are produced locally by 433
specialized vegetable gardeners.

/59 cont./ 241 [407]
that are shallow, that is where the top soil is 5 to 7 inches, the iron plow cannot work so successfully as the wooden plow. It goes too deep and brings up the raw infertile soil which destroys the field for many years. The wooden plow does not turn the furrow over but leaves it in the place, thus the field is plowed without bringing to the surface the subsoil. The farmers think the iron plow poisons the soils of this kind and never use an iron plow on such soils but only a wooden one. The fields for wheat seed are plowed from 3 to 7 times before seeding. It has been a custom to plow the same field as many times as possible. The common expression is: "The more you work the soil the more you get." This is of course a general principle and does not hold true under all conditions. 241 242

Manure is seldom applied since almost all of it is used as fuel. Each farmer on the average has 4 animals and they are in pasture all day the year around. What little manure he gets he uses for fuel. 241 237 372

Chemical fertilizers are too expensive and the farmer is not acquainted with them. He still talks about them as "fine soil filled in sack and colored with lime."

They understand well the importance of manure but /60/ cannot afford to use it for their fields. One of the outstanding problems which is that of a fuel to substitute for dried manure should be attacked first before trying to do anything with farming. The productivity of the land is decreasing year after year. The humus, what little there is, is depleted and the fields need it in order to continue cultivating them. In one survey, I found out that 92% of the manure is used as fuel and only 8% is applied to the fields. This study also revealed that by applying the manure to the field the increased production buys 2 1/2 times as much fuel of lignite coal. After proving to them the importance of the manure they were convinced of the profit in buying lignite coal, but a special stove so constructed as to fulfil the needs of a farm family was not discovered. [433] [433] [354]

x 342 the genuine flat-roof type, but have their origin in the stone covered
house, having a cylindrical dome for a roof.

● [433] In the smaller islands (Cyclades, Dodecanese), where agricultural
production is very moderate and where, owing to the peaceful man-
[231] ners and to the existing security, the stables of cattle and even the
[251] stores of cereals and of wine, oil etc. are mostly away from the dwelling
places (see G. **Megas**, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία τῆς Δωδεκανήσου, pp. 5 and 45),
the house is meant only to the purpose of sheltering the family and
[583] partly to the keeping of the agricultural and animal products. Owing
to the fact that the house is an essential element for the dowry and
[592] for the housing of a couple with their unmarried children, the single
house, that is the house which consists of one rectangular room, is the
most common form in these islands. It is understood that there are also
[231] some rural houses, especially in Rhodes, where the cattle is stabled
(or has been stabled) at one end of the house under the same roof
with the inhabitants (fig. 28).

This «single» house belongs to both forms of houses, the narrow and the wide form.

The first form mainly prevails in certain islands, such as Skyros, Amorgos, Kythnos, and sporadically in many other islands of the Cyclades, of the Dodecanese, and sometimes in Crete and Cyprus. This house has mainly a προστῷον on its narrow side, but, instead of supporting roof poles it has an arch on its front part (Plate VIIIa 5)(1), and more often it is enclosed on the front part as well, forming a real ante-room or a roofed yard (Cf. fig. 13, 14)(2). In several places, more over as in Crete, even in this form, it keeps the name of the open portico «χαγιάτι», as we have seen it in the case of the narrow-front houses of Thrace with the inclined roof. Consequently, the narrow-front house of the islands, in its simplest form, preserves the form of the ancient megaron.

The cylindrically-covered houses of Kimolos, Thera and Antiparos are also of the narrow-front type (3).

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1) See the Cypriot Rural House, in Laographia vol. 11 p. 81. Cf. the House of Nissyros (Fig. 26 above) and the House of Amorgos (Λαϊκὴ Οἰκοδομία Λήμνου Fig. 15). In front of their covered yard, whose roof is supported by an arch, these houses have another open courtyard (Plate VIIIa 6).

2) **G. Megas**, Ἡ λαϊκὴ κατοικία Δωδεκανήσου, fig. 26.

3) **A. Wace**, The towns and houses of the archipelago, in the Burlington Magazine 26, 1914/15, 99 foll. **Fr. Oelmann**, Haus u. Hof im Altertum p. 64 where there is also a plan of a «Tonnendachhaus» of Kimolos.